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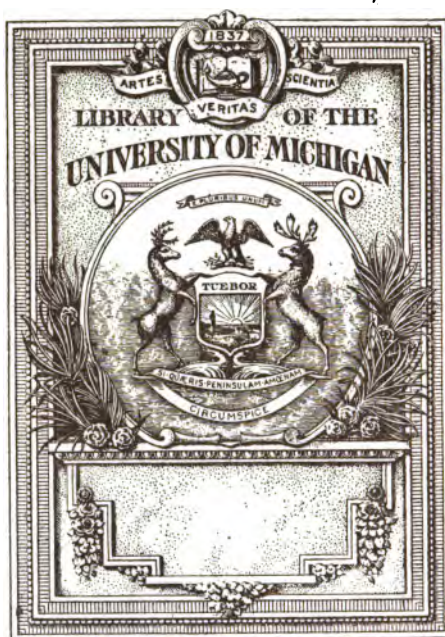
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GEORGE H. ARMSTRONG

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AUTOBIOGRAPHIC ELEMENTS IN LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

BY
HENRY H. ARMSTRONG

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AUTOBIOGRAPHIC ELEMENTS IN LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

In the Roman literature a tendency to the personal narrative of events closely connected with the writer's own experience and personal comment on such events is predominant. So the Roman epic poetry deals largely with contemporary history or happenings not too remote; even in the *Aeneid*, where the scene is laid in the heroic past, the personages of Virgil's own day, as Marcellus, are introduced. This tendency is still more clearly seen in the literary types the Romans themselves originated. Satire is a characteristic Roman product: but satire is merely a criticism which the author's personality passes on its environment. And the Romans also created the literary form that aims at a complete disclosure of the writer's life and personality, the autobiography, with which the subject under discussion is immediately connected.¹

It is not surprising then that the inscriptions also reveal in a marked degree the same personal tendency. Strangely enough, with one recent exception,² this has scarcely been recognized: hence it does not seem useless here to indicate the extent to which the highest development of this feeling (which we may perhaps call the "autobiographic feeling") enters into Latin inscriptions, and the various forms it assumes.

We must first notice, however, that these inscriptions, as compared with the Roman literary autobiography, have two

NOTE.—The references indicated by the superior figures numbered consecutively 1-131 are found in Appendix A.

limitations. First, though they present far more autobiographic expressions than those of other ancient languages, they are not the earliest of an autobiographic nature. In Greece we have a number of epigrams in the first person dating from the sixth to the third century B. C.;³ and the records of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings go back of that some fifteen hundred years.

Again, inscriptions are relatively short, and the autobiographic statements are thus restricted. For this reason one cannot properly speak of "autobiographies" except in connection with the Monumentum Ancyranum and a few other of the longer inscriptions in prose and verse: the rest furnish simply "autobiographic elements."

By the term "autobiographic element" we mean that throughout an entire inscription, or in some part of it, an interested person gives us personal information concerning his own life and character, either by stating facts about his life, or by expressing an opinion regarding events that have happened or he wishes may happen to him, or by placing himself in relation to another person to whom the reader's attention is chiefly directed. For the first two of these three ways of expressing autobiographic feeling the first person of the verb and the first person pronoun are used; for the third, where this feeling is much weaker, we have the possessives *meus* and *noster*. This feeling may be still less prominent, being simply implied in the second person of address; and we may conceive of inscriptions where it is cleverly hidden by the use of the third person, as in Caesar's Commentaries. However, this paper deals only with inscriptions where the autobiographic feeling is so marked that the first person is employed.

But several classes of inscriptions containing a first person are not truly autobiographic. First, chance scribblings which tell us nothing about a definite person need not be

taken into account. These may be: 1) fragments of a few words, as C. I. L. IV, 1927, *tu enim me doces*; 2) salutations, wishes and prayers, as C. I. L. IV, 2059; *Ianuarias nobis felices multis annis*; 3) mere general statements, often proverbial in character, as C. I. L. IV, 346, ll. 2-4, *alter amat, alter | amatur; ego fastidi, | qui fastidit amat*. Of these the *graffiti* of Pompeii give us the most examples; but similar rough scratchings on the living rock or on tiles are found in many other parts of the Roman world.⁴

Such phrases and sentences are often stereotyped, as the *oro vos, faciatis* of Pompeian election notices; and in such forms they appear also on a large variety of every-day objects. Variations of one phrase, *annum novum faustum felicem mihi*, are common on lamps of the first century;⁵ like wishes and prayers for the prosperity of one's self and others occur on a variety of pagan and Christian objects, as late as the sixth century.⁶ A gaming board invites one to play (C. I. L. VIII, 21084), drinking-vessels bid one fill the cup;⁷ the latter also sometimes bear protestations of love,⁸ which are frequent enough on gems and jewelry, especially engagement rings.⁹ Pagan and Christian paintings and mosaics often have inscriptions connected with the subjects portrayed;¹⁰ Christian mosaics may also contain quotations from the Scriptures.¹¹ Apart from these Biblical quotations, we have only one certain quotation of a proverbial character, that is, Virgil, Eclogue 10, 69, *omnia vincit amor; et nos cedamus amori*, on a silver spoon from Lamp-sacus (C. I. L. III, 12274 b).¹²

Occasionally similar phrases and sentences are found in formal inscriptions on stone. Of the pagan examples but few are in prose, as C. I. L. VI, 29954, *sol me rapuit*, III, 3881, *utamur felices*, XII, 2366, l. 6, *omines mortales sumus* (cf. also XII, 4315, 4524); the rest, mainly from Rome, are metrical and proverbial, like C. I. L. V, 6693 (Büch.

610), l. 5, *omnes mortales; eadem nam sorte tenemur*.¹² The Christian examples are chiefly confined to the cities of Rome and Ravenna and the portion of northern Africa between ancient Sitifis and Lambaesis. Many of them are mottoes (e. g., C. I. L. VIII, 2215, *spes in me*),¹⁴ or quotations of Scriptural texts.¹⁵ The latter, like the texts on the mosaics just mentioned (p. 217), often vary from the Latin versions of Jerome; they may thus preserve the older versions, especially in Africa, where the oldest Latin translations of the Bible arose and where they longest persisted (see Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, pp. 3452-3466). The rest are indefinite expressions of wishes or opinions in the first person plural, usually incorporated in dedications to dead ecclesiastics or saints; a good instance is C. I. L. XI, 302 a, from Ravenna, *domnus Neon episcopus senescat nobis*.¹⁶

Second, the possessive *noster* frequently refers, not to several distinct individuals, but to some group of individuals as a whole, and so does not form an autobiographic element in an inscription. The best instances of this are phrases like *patria nostra*, *civitas nostra*, *ordo noster*, *patronus noster*, *pater noster* (a bishop) and *nomen nostrum* in various decrees and offerings of towns, boards of municipal officers, *collegia*, churches and other "juristic persons." These inscriptions cover a long period, from the *senatus noster* of the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* (C. I. L. I, 196 = X, 104, 186 B. C.) to the *monasterio nostro* of a Christian inscription of the sixth century (C. I. L. XII, 944): but the majority, some 38 out of a possible 50, fall within the period covering the second to the fourth centuries of the Empire.

Another illustration of this use of *noster* is found in the *Lucius noster*, *Gaius noster*, etc., of the dedications for the health and safety of the person named by members of his

familia or in other inscriptions where the *familia* of the man is concerned. Here the personal and individual application is more prominent, for generally the names of two or more dedicators are expressly given: but as *noster* is used when only one dedicator is mentioned, it is clear that the possessive after all refers to the *familia* as a whole. These phrases are not extensively employed; only at Rome and Nîmes has any number of inscriptions containing them been discovered.¹⁷

The frequent use of *noster* with Imperial titles¹⁸ is a development from this *noster* with proper names, but presents several features of its own. First, the phrases occur so many thousands of times that by the second century, at least, they have become mere conventional forms; this is especially true of *d(ominus)n(oster)*, which finally occupies a regular position in the inscriptions.¹⁹ Second, the earliest appearance of *noster* with the different titles varies considerably in time. The oldest form on dated inscriptions is *princeps noster*, first noticed in Phrygia just before the Christian era (C. I. L. III, 12240); shortly after this, in 11 A. D., we meet with *Aug. n.* (C. I. L. III, 334, from Bithynia); in Nero's time come *Caesar n.* and *imp. n.* (C. I. L. II, 1281, 57 A. D., III, 30, from Egypt, 65 A. D.). Finally, when under Antoninus Pius the word *dominus*, which denoted the relation of dependence of the *familia* upon the *paterfamilias*, begins to be applied to the Emperor, the *noster* is at once attached to it (e. g., C. I. L. VI, 2120, 155 A. D.). This last title, the prevailing one by the time of Constantine, is adopted by the Eastern Empire, the Gothic kings of Italy and Spain,²⁰ and the Frankish kings of the sixth and seventh centuries;²¹ we meet with it as late as Phocas and Heraclius,²² on the border of the Middle Ages.²³

Third, the Imperial documents (orations, decrees, edicts, rescripts, military diplomas and letters) written in the first person are not strictly autobiographic. Of course where these documents are merely quoted, or where in the East the "editorial we" occurs," that is, a nominative plural referring to a single Emperor, the case is clear; for the citation of another man's words is not autobiography, and the use of the plural is simply an expedient to *prevent* the command from seeming too personal. But even where the singular is used, the language is only the officially authorized form, like that of our Thanksgiving Proclamation or the Preamble to the Constitution. If the language of the Roman documents seems more emphatically personal than that of our own, it is because the Emperor as ruler of the world could speak with authority.

The language of many other public documents is similarly of an official nature and not autobiographic. Such are: the letter of the praetor Cornelius to the people of Tibur (C. I. L. XIV, 3584 = I, 201, ca. 159 B. C.); two edicts of *praefecti urbi* containing the "editorial we" (C. I. L. VI, 1711, ca. 488 A. D., 1771, 363 A. D.); official letters of various Imperial officers, which often quote liberally from documents; decrees and dedications of municipal officers and *collegia*, in which it is noteworthy that, except in X, 5200, of the fourth century, *censuerunt* or *cens.* is always employed, regardless of the other first persons; and two decrees of private persons acting officially (C. I. L. V, 7749 = I, 199, 117 B. C., X, 7852, 69 A. D.). Special mention must be made of the records of the Arval Brothers and the Secular Games, which give copious quotations both from decrees and from prayers (C. I. L. VI, 2024, etc., 32350, etc.; 877, 32323, 32325-9); closely allied to them are the known examples of *leges arae* (C. I. L. III, 1933, 137 A. D.,

XII, 1549, end 2d century, 4333, 11 A. D.), and oaths of allegiance to Caligula (C. I. L. II, 172, XI, 5998). Finally, private documents, particularly wills, are often cited on sepulchral inscriptions; the fact that the passage is quoted is usually indicated by a heading²⁸ (cf. p. 246).

Fourth, in a few inscriptions, mostly metrical, some genuine personal utterance is definitely quoted. The contents of these quotations differ widely. There are reflections on life, complaints, consolatory remarks by the dead, addresses to wayfarers, a prayer to God; as C. I. L. XIII, 8655 (Büch. 1006),

Vos rogitat, quaeso, soror unica fratris amantis,
ni dissigilletis nive violetis opus;

and C. I. L. XIV, 1938 (Büch. 681), '*Accipe me' dixit domin[e in tua limina Christe]*':²⁹ even God himself is represented as giving Peter authority over the Church (Bull. Crist. Second Series, vol. 2 (1871), p. 117, ca. 419 A. D.)

Lastly, there are a number of personifications, in which inanimate objects speak in the first person. Simple forms of such personification are found very early on objects of every-day use, as the Praenestine fibula (C. I. L. XIV, 4123¹), the Ficoroni cista (C. I. L. XIV, 4112 = I, 54), and several ancient pieces of pottery from the Esquiline cemetery and elsewhere.³⁰ Here, however, we have clearly a Grecism. The expressions employed, 'so-and-so made me,' or 'I am of so-and-so,' with warnings added, bear a striking resemblance to those on like objects from the Chalcidian colonies in Italy of an earlier date;³¹ and the first two pieces named are surely of foreign workmanship.³² Similar inscriptions, and others less stereotyped, on vases of a later date from Pompeii, the Danube provinces, Germany, and Gaul, show how widespread and enduring this custom was.³³

A variety of personifications is present also in inscriptions of a different type. There is first the Duenos Inscription of the fourth century B. C., the exact purpose of which is still in doubt (see Egbert, *Latin Inscriptions*, pp. 346-7). Further, in certain late dedications of a city wall, a nymphaeum, an obelisk, a fountain and a Mithraic relief, the city, the nymphaeum, the obelisk, the water and the stone respectively speak:¹¹ in representations of divinities also the gods sometimes use the first person.¹² The majority, however, are epitaphs. Once the bones speak of themselves in the first person plural (C. I. L. X, 5469, Büch. 1135); but usually the stone does the talking. With the exception of a single address to the Manes (C. I. L. IX, 6315, Büch. 383), the stone always hails the passer-by; his attention may be called to other statements of the inscription which are given in the third person,¹³ or the stone may give him warning,¹⁴ or express a desire for libations and crowns (C. I. L. VI, 2335, 2357=Büch. 838, 9024), or utter some other pious wish (C. I. L. III, 6660=Büch. 296, VI, 21261). It is sometimes difficult to judge whether the stone or the person buried is supposed to be the speaker: but the number of certain personal inscriptions containing similar addresses is so great that it is safe to assume that in doubtful cases not the 'silent stone,' as it is called in an inscription of the time of Lucilius (Eph. Epigr. vol. 4, p. 297, no. 861, Büch. 53), but the deceased himself utters a voice from the tomb. These inscriptions, unlike those on the small objects, have no real connection with the similar Greek usage; for on the Greek dedications and epitaphs of pre-Roman times where the object uses the first person, in both prose and verse we have only a repetition of the simple formulae of the vases and other small objects.¹⁵ It was left for the intense autobiographic feeling of the Romans to develop such personifications to any extent.

Apart from these pseudo-autobiographic inscriptions, those collected which contain genuine autobiographic forms still number over 2200. Their variety is amazing; but a few general observations are possible.

First, though they are widely scattered, their geographical distribution is not at all uniform. Italy, yielding less than four-sevenths of the total number of inscriptions, produces over five-sevenths of those containing autobiographic elements; outside of Italy relatively large numbers are found only in Dalmatia (75), Moesia Inferior (16) and Egypt (36). The scarcity prevailing in Greece and the Far East is due to two reasons, the official and stereotyped character of the Latin inscriptions from these regions and the use of Greek as a vernacular; in fact, the inscriptions of European Greece are confined to ten from Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia and Thrace, and of the twelve from Asia Minor five are bilingual.²⁰ In the West the causes differ for different provinces. The dedications and epitaphs of legionary soldiers have to a high degree the official and impersonal form already noted in the East; this accounts for the few autobiographic inscriptions from the German frontier, Britain (14), and especially Dacia (10), where the Roman occupation was purely military. Africa and Gaul were much better Romanized: but here the general adoption of a brief and colorless type of epitaph confined personal utterances to narrow limits. For the paucity in Spain, which even produced autobiographic formulae (see below, p. 238), and was certainly important in a literary way, there seems to be no certain explanation.

Further, the inscriptions from each country generally group themselves about certain centers, and these not necessarily the ones yielding the largest totals of inscriptions. Of course in Italy Rome is at the head, with over half the Italian examples. In northern Italy Pola, Aquileia, Con-

cordia, Verona, Brescia, Milan and Ravenna are prominent, the large Christian cemetery at Concordia being specially noteworthy. In central Italy, Ostia, farther south, Capua, Naples, Pompeii and Benevento, are important, Pompeii for its *graffiti*, Capua for an interesting series of late Christian epitaphs.

Outside of Italy Salonae is the most prolific source of both pagan and Christian inscriptions containing autobiographic elements. Africa has three centers, Carthage, Lambaesis and Scherschel (ancient Caesarea); the last-named produced much sepulchral poetry. In Gaul Lyons is specially productive, and on the Rhine Mainz is the chief center.

As will later appear, these places, and many others, furnish us local and provincial types; the existence of such types is often due to peculiar circumstances. Thus the Egyptian inscriptions are almost entirely records of visitors to the famous sights of that land.

Regarding the classes of society that employed such autobiographic forms one fact is certain. Tacitus in the *Agricola* (chapter 1) indicates the antiquity of the literary autobiography and its early use by famous men, while he points out the infrequency of mere biographies of such aristocratic persons in his own day. The inscriptions containing autobiographic elements form an excellent commentary on this passage. Though at first, as it seems, only those of senatorial and equestrian rank introduce autobiographic matter into inscriptions, from before 100 B. C. to the end of the second century A. D., with barely an exception, only the lower classes write their epitaphs and dedications in this way; finally, at the later date those of higher rank take up these forms, by this time wide-spread and vulgarized. Thus after the two earliest examples, of a Scipio and a Popilius (C. I. L. I, 38 = VI, 1293, 138-7

B. C.; I, 551 = X, 6950, 132 B. C.), no secular official or private person of the two higher orders appears until the time mentioned, except in the peculiar form of the *laudatio* (C. I. L. VI, 1527, 10230, XIV, 3579; see p. 243), and the poetic epitaph of an unknown praetor who probably lived early in the second century, which is remarkable for its *raised* letters and lack of a prose dedication (C. I. L. VI, 1372, Büch. 426); and the same is true without exception of all priests everywhere. The assistants of Roman magistrates, however, and the Imperial officials of a humble station employ autobiography early and freely, while in the municipalities the Augustales alone, who were generally freedmen, display personal feeling to any extent.

Even certain portions of these lower classes do not express themselves readily in autobiographic forms. The stones set up by common soldiers and petty officers are, as already noted (p. 223), mostly impersonal. It is true that of the inscriptions containing autobiographic elements, from Egypt practically all, and from the Danube Provinces, Raetia and Germany over half, are military; but here the required explanations are at hand. The military inscriptions from Egypt, except two of the third century (C. I. L. III, 6594 and a), are simply scratched records of visitors to the sights: on the Danube, and in Raetia and Germany, the centers for such inscriptions, as Altenberg (Carnuntum), Alt Ofen (Aquincum), Mainz, O-Szöny (Brigetio) and Regensburg (Castrum Regina), were either military camps or later outgrowths of military camps, and of course the inscriptions from them are predominantly military. On the other hand, the fleet at Misenum has given but four examples (C. I. L. X, 3336, 238-244 A. D.; 3409, 3646; 8131, Hadrian); Lambaesis, which grew from a camp, shows only three examples out of seven hundred military inscriptions (C. I. L. VIII, 2728, of 152 A. D., 3109, 3205); and

Dacia does not have one inscription of a soldier containing an autobiographic element. Slaves of the *domus Augusti* are just as reticent: there are only two examples from Rome (C. I. L. VI, 1609, 2d-3d cent., 7458, Ant. Pius) and four from Carthage (C. I. L. VIII, 12792, end 1st-beg. 2nd cent.; 12881, 12919, 13134, Hadrian-Antonines) in a total of over one thousand, and these are all as late as the second century. So in general, from the eighth to the tenth century of the city, in Rome autobiographic forms are cultivated by the great mixed population, including tradesmen and minor officials, and in the provinces by the *plebs* of the cities and towns; the higher official hierarchy adopts their usage first when the Empire begins to go to pieces.

As between prose and poetry, it may be said in general that the inscriptions written in prose far outnumber the others: at Rome alone, in pre-Augustan and Christian times, are there more poetic inscriptions. In fact, nine of the twelve pre-Augustan poetic inscriptions, including the very earliest, are from Rome and vicinity. But, during the earlier Empire, although Rome keeps a high average, it is passed by Spain, Germany and the eastern half of southern and central Italy; the predominance of Spain is not without significance, when we remember the number of literary men that country gave to Rome in the first and second centuries. Finally, in the Christian period, under the influence of Pope Damasus, Rome again takes the lead.

Turning now to a detailed examination of the several kinds of autobiographic inscriptions, we may divide them into dedications, with which are closely associated the *devotiones*; epitaphs, by far the largest number; honorary inscriptions, the smallest class; "autobiographic records," as the milestone of Publius Popilius; business documents (wax tablets of Iucundus, etc.); manufacturer's marks and

other inscriptions on small household objects (*instrumentum domesticum*); and lastly, the intensely personal *graffiti* from Pompeii and elsewhere. In each class prose and poetic examples are often conveniently discussed under separate heads.

The conservative adherence to ancient usages so characteristic of all religions, and especially of the narrow formalism of the Roman religion, is well shown in the prose dedications. From the third century B. C. to the sixth century A. D., the autobiographic element in both pagan and Christian examples is generally restricted to the use of a *solvi*, *posui*, *dedicavi* for the corresponding third person forms, or of a *meus* for the third person possessive; the regular dedicatory form is otherwise preserved, and sometimes both first and third persons occur together, as C. I. L. IX, 2164, of the third century: *Sex(tus) Pompeius Moderatus . . . vo<l>vit ara(m) domino Silvano . . . votum solvi et ara(m) dedicavi* (see also VI, 31187, of the same date). Sometimes in later inscriptions an *ego* is added before the dedicator's name.⁷⁷ This, however, is not an autobiographic strengthening, but a usage arising in the development of the language; from the Republican times the gradual loss of inflectional endings in the vulgar speech, which is reflected in the inscriptions, made necessary the use of the personal pronoun.

Even where autobiographic additions are found, consisting of inserted explanatory clauses, as *ut gratias ago* (C. I. L. VI, 269, 213 A. D.),⁷⁸ or a separate pious prayer at the close, as *reliquos mei rogo salvos* in C. I. L. VIII, 8448 (cf. VIII, 2641 = 18102), the rest of the inscription in general keeps the third person form.

Five instances only give us any detailed account of the occasion for the dedication;⁷⁹ one of these, from Moesia Inferior, runs: *cum primum veni Montanis et numina vidi*,

deabus votum vovi, ut potui pos[u]i, etc. (Rev. Arch. Third Series, vol. 41 (1902), p. 352, no. 71).

The case is different with the dedicatory poems. As they are not common enough to be run into set moulds, the autobiographic elements vary widely, and the free use of them is not prevented in any unusual way by the poetic form. The fact that most of the persons who employ such poetry are of higher rank and desire to give some account of their personal distinctions makes the poems still more individual. As a farther result of this natural desire, the god takes a second place, and the whole poem becomes primarily a panegyric of the dedicator.⁴⁰

All these points are well illustrated by the dedication of the poet Avienus (C. I. L. VI, 537, Büch. 1530 A) :

Festus Musoni suboles prolesque Avieni,
unde tui latices traxerunt, Caesia, nomen,
Nortia, te veneror lare cretus Vulsiniensi,
Romam habitans, gemino proconsulis auctus honor[e],
carmina multa serens, vitam insons, integer aeu[m],
coniugio laetus Placidae numeroq(ue) frequenti
natorum exsultans. vivax sit spiritus ollis,
cetera composita fatorum lege trahentur.⁴¹

The few Christian dedications in verse, however, are brief, sometimes only a line, and as conventional as their prose, especially the productions of Damasus: ⁴² the one exception noticed is that of Constantina, daughter of Constantine, whose position would lead us to expect something out of the ordinary from her (Inscr. Christ. II, p. 44, Büch. 301).

In connection with these poems we first meet the question of the authorship and originality of epigraphic poetry. In these dedications the case is usually clear. Once, in the instance just quoted, a professed poet, Avienus, makes the offering; two other poems are known both from inscriptions

and literary tradition, and were presumably transferred from manuscript to stone (C. I. L. XI, 3862 = Priapeum 14; V, 2803 = Büch. 861; see Mommsen, Büch. *ad locc.*). The rest betray their home-made character by their commonplaces, the difficulty with which prosaic details are distorted into verse, and the sometimes faulty metre. The hints of the classic poets go back mainly to Virgil and Ovid, and are mere tags of a few words, except that one man of a humble official station has repeated several lines in an effort to make a good showing (C. I. L. IX, 3375, Büch. 250; see C. Hose, in Rhein. Mus. vol. 50 (1895), pp. 288-9). Where, as in C. I. L. III, 1894 = 8471 (Büch. 1531, 5th cent.), the composer does attempt a more elaborate and original production, he overshoots the mark.

The *devotiones*, which are nearest of kin to the dedications, are from their very nature both formulaic and intensely personal. They date from all periods; the earliest example, C. I. L. I, 818 = VI, 140, from Rome, is of the late Republic. Carthage and ancient Hadrumetum in Africa (see Bull. Arch. 1906, pp. 378-387) and the vicinity of Naples furnish the larger number.

Most of them are addressed to the gods or demons of the lower world. They may devote to these divinities, with all kinds of curses, some unknown wrongdoer, as in C. I. L. II, 462; but usually some special enemy is cursed. Often the relation of the person cursed and the person cursing is not mentioned, and it is only an inference that a scornful lover is devoted.⁴ In Africa such curses are often aimed at the members of an opposing circus faction, with some such words as *haec nomina hominum et equorum qu(a)e dedi vobis cadant*, *precor vos*, found in one from Hadrumetum (Rev. Arch. Fourth Series, vol. 2 (1903), p. 175, no. 209).⁵ These were as a rule placed in tombs, which were considered places under the spell of the infernal deities, where they

could injure the person cursed as they already had injured the dead.⁴⁵ Twice, however (C. I. L. XI, 1823; Eph. Epigr. vol. 7, p. 278, no. 827, Bath, late 2d cent.), similar curses are addressed to gods of healing springs, who are supposed on occasion to exercise a destructive and not a beneficial influence. Christianity here, as elsewhere, keeps the ancient form if not the spirit; for we have an example of the denunciation of an evil spirit couched in the same terms on a lead tablet of about the sixth century from Dalmatia (C. I. L. III, p. 961).

Generally these curses contain meaningless Greek words of supposed magical import, which make a kind of incantation. But real incantations also occur in autobiographic form. Two are love charms from Hadrumetum, in Greek letters;⁴⁶ a third is a bronze key at Naples, containing a prayer to Diana for protection, and mentioning also God and Solomon.⁴⁷

Sepulchral inscriptions always give the best occasion for self-praise by the dead; this was emphatically the case in pagan Rome, where men thought that the dead did not fly away to heaven as spirits, but continued in an existence of some kind in the place of burial, so that they could be represented as speaking (see Roscher, *Inferi, Manes*). But some interfering elements are at work here as in the religious inscriptions. First, there is the tendency common to all epitaphs, ancient and modern, to adopt early certain formulae and cling to them. But second, beginning with the Augustan Age, the epitaphs assume in increasing numbers the form of real dedications to the *dei manes*; thus the religious conservatism present in the dedications operates here also.⁴⁸

This conflict is plainly shown in both poetry and prose. First, the prose epitaphs, just as the dedications, often retain the common forms with the simple substitution of a

first person verb or pronoun for the corresponding third person, as in Eph. Epigr. vol. 8, p. 162, no. 663:

*dis manibus | sacrum. Danae | Valeria vixit annis | XLV. Ti-
(berius) Claudius | Anoptes coniugi | benemerenti fecit.*

There results also the same curious mixture of persons referring to a single dedicator, thus (C. I. L. V, 3776):

*v(iva) f(ecit) | Thoria L(ucl) f(ilia) | Severa | sibi et M(arco)
Ennio | M(arci) f(ilio) Primo | viro suo | et Baebiae L(ucl) f(iliae)
Collinae | filiae meae.*

This usage, as in the religious inscriptions, begins in the last hundred years of the Republic,²⁸ extends throughout the Empire and continues in Christian times along with the preservation of the pagan formulae; examples are not uncommon in the fifth and sixth centuries.²⁹ But the resemblance to the dedications is more than superficial; for it is in precisely the *dis manibus* inscriptions, which are essentially dedications, that most of these variations in the formulae occur.³¹

Such variations are specially frequent in the formulae peculiar to grave inscriptions, above all in the expressions giving the length of time the living were with the dead. The usual clause is *cum quo* (or *qua*) *vixit annis*, with such additions as *concorditer*; but *vixi*, said by the dedicator, with the same phrases added, is fairly common. More frequent is the phrase *qui* (or *quae*) *vixit mecum annis*, or *mecum annis*. This well illustrates the conflict between the autobiographic feeling and formalism. The phrase may be a pure autobiographic invention, and not suggested by the corresponding *vixit cum eo*, which is much more rarely found:³² on the other hand, *vixit mecum* is a stereotyped form used hundreds of times in pagan and Christian inscriptions as late as the fifth century,³³ where the rest of the inscription is impersonal. It is used in a few places, at

Rome the most, in the rest of Italy and the great centers of Dalmatia and Lyons a little, but, with two exceptions, C. I. L. XII, 2244, 2398, apparently not at all in the rest of the Roman world; a better example is not available of the strict geographical bounds to which even a common autobiographic phrase may be limited.

Similarly the dead person tells the number of years he lived in the words (*qui*) *vixi annis*, when the other persons named use the third person exclusively. In the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum the isolated first persons are often marked as mistakes: but when the other parts of the inscription are free from errors and the copy in the Corpus is transcribed directly from the stone, there is no reason to doubt that we have here valid examples of autobiographic expressions.

The development of these variations in sepulchral inscriptions is still more nearly parallel to that of the dedications. In the latter we noted the addition of an *ego* before proper names in later inscriptions, which was made necessary by the gradual loss of inflectional endings in the vulgar speech (see p. 227). But in a number of sepulchral inscriptions, too, none of them earlier than the third century (except C. I. L. VIII, 20718), the same usage is found. However, the phrase with *ego* here resembles a formula much more than in the dedications, as shown by the fact that here it is used in groups of inscriptions of the same time and place:⁴⁴ for example, it occurs several times in the Christian cemetery of Concordia.⁴⁵

The variations mentioned so far have one characteristic which they share with most of the religious dedications, that the changes, however numerous, do not disturb the order of the usual formulae. Some other variations correspond more closely to a second group of the dedications, as in them both the impersonal phrases and the personal

phrases used in their stead are additions to the main skeleton of the inscription. These phrases, like the inserted explanatory clauses and pious prayers of the religious dedications, are inserted in the middle or added at the end of the ordinary type of inscriptions: they are all laudatory of the dead.

The one of these inserted phrases most used is *de se bene merenti* or *merito* or *meritae*. We find also sometimes *de me bene merenti*, etc., either alone, as in C. I. L. V, 1108, or with other autobiographic variations in the inscription, as in C. I. L. VI, 6669, early 1st cent., VIII, 19168, IX, 1702; this is thrice, in C. I. L. V, 3712, VI, 25444, 2d cent., XIII, 442, do., slightly, but not essentially, modified to *si qui de me bene meruerit, bene merenti a me* and *de me optime merit(a)e*. Closely connected in thought with this are a few stereotyped phrases like *mihi carissima*.⁵⁸

Again, this eulogy of the dead may take the form, *de quo* (or *qua*) *nihil doluit nisi mortem*, with slight variations, the form being most common at Rome; beside it is found *de quo* (or *qua*) *nihil dolui nisi mortem*,⁵⁹ similarly varied.⁶⁰ The introduction of the first person causes still greater variations, as to *nihil dolui nisi quod me reliquid*, of C. I. L. VI, 25595, which strengthen the autobiographic effect; but the skeleton remains the same.⁶¹

Finally, the complaint of parents that they have made graves for their children which the children should have made for them is usually reduced to a simple prose or poetic formula, altered to suit particular events, as C. I. L. VI, 28644, *quot debuerat filius patri facere pater filio fecit*, IX, 374, *quod filios decuit facer[e] mater fecit filis*, and Bücheler, 164-178. But as early as Cicero's time we have expressions of the same type put into the first person; for in De Senectute, 84, he says, *cuius a me corpus est crematum, quod contra decuit ab illo meum*, where he undoubtedly is

borrowing from the language of the inscriptions. In C. I. L. VI, 22066, *quod vos decebat mihi fecisse, mater [feci]*, the parallelism is still better marked. Here again we have the personal pronouns *ego* and *tu* added, but here, unlike the cases previously mentioned (pp. 227, 232), the pronouns have a strengthening force, as these inscriptions are much earlier, and the pronouns have not become necessary for clearness.⁸⁰ In fact, the autobiographic feeling is very strong, as personal pronouns have taken the place of nouns of relationship; and there is really a development of purely autobiographic forms.⁸¹ Still these complaints are generally excrescences on an otherwise impersonal inscription, just as certain additions in the religious dedications.

So much for the variations in the prose epitaphs. The poetic epitaphs contain, so far as observed, but one instance of parallel expressions in the first and third persons. C. I. L. VI, 8553 (Büch. 1179) has the following distich:

*quod meruit vivus, moriens quot et ipse rogavit,
coniugi sue gratae praestitit ecce fides.*

In C. I. L. V, 7404 (Büch. 1180), the same distich occurs, but somewhat corrupted, with the first person:

*quot merui vitam, moriens quot et ipse rogavi,
coniugis o grati redditur ecce fides;*

and this is repeated in XI, 911 (Büch. 1181), and V, Suppl. Ital. 1283 (Büch. 1182). All other expressions of a formulaic character in verse noticed are either always in the third person alone, or the first person alone, without any variations between persons.

Having now examined the forms in which there is a variation between first and third person, we turn to the formulae purely autobiographic. These again illustrate the opposition between the natural autobiographic feeling and religious conservatism. Here it is certain that the formu-

lae are always expressed in the first person, and the very fact that they are stereotyped in this way proves how common the autobiographic feeling was. But this very use of formulae to convey personal feeling shows also the conservative tendency of the religious dedications; and the make-up of the inscriptions containing the autobiographic formulae indicates that they are treated as additions to the common forms, as are certain additions in the religious dedications already noted (see p. 227). For here too a distinction is made between the regular impersonal inscription and the extra personal expression, the latter being placed at the end or introduced as an added clause.

These autobiographic formulae fall under three heads, those with which the living address the dead, those on monuments set up by a man to himself, usually while still alive, and those placed by others in the mouths of the dead.

The first class contains a few simple expressions in prose and verse, usually either greetings or wishes for the dead. Autobiographic greetings, like the *have mihi, Luciliane* of C. I. L. III, 5959, are rare;²² the wishes, always that the earth may rest lightly on the dead, are fairly common. The chief prose form is *opto sit tibi terra levis*, generally abbreviated;²³ the chief poetical forms are the *optamus cuncti, sit tibi ter(r)a levis* of the *equites singulares* at Rome (C. I. L. VI, 3191, 3308, Büch. 1460; cf. the *omnes optamus*, etc. of III, 4533 = 11294, Büch. 1461), and the distichs like *te, lapis, obtestor, leviter super ossa residas, ne nostro doleat conditus officio* (Büch. 1047-8, 1470-1475). Sometimes like wishes are found in the poets, as Tibullus 2, 4, 49-50, Ovid, *Amores* 3, 9, 67-8 (see p. 249), Martial, 5, 34, 9-10, 9, 29, 11-12: but the formulae mentioned do not occur in the literature, and it is not possible to establish a literary origin for them.

The personal feeling is here very weak. The dative in *have mihi* is "ethical," being a slight addition to the ordinary phrases of salutation; and the first persons in the wishes are quite conventional, while the variations found are slight. Occasionally a more personal touch occurs, as in the line, *mi fili, mater rogat ut me ad te recipias* on an African inscription (C. I. L. VIII, 9691, Büch. 151), which is altered so as to injure the metre and repeated on a Gallic stone (XII, 4938), or the poetry used in three separate inscriptions from ancient Auzia (C. I. L. VIII, 9080, 9081, 9192, Büch. 592-4), also with changes that warp the metre:⁶⁴ but these are decidedly the exception.

The Christian formulae of this class are much more personal. The most colorless, *qui praecessit nos in pace*, is apparently limited to Arbal and vicinity in Africa, between 352 and 519 A. D.⁶⁵ The others noticed are mostly pre-Constantinian; they are either appeals like *pet(e) pro nobis* (Bull. Crist. Second Series, vol. 4 (1873), p. 71),⁶⁶ or a more direct commendation to the saints, as in C. I. L. X, 4529, *corpus sanc[t]is(simum) comindavi, irene* (i. e., *ἐιρήνη*), *tibi cum sanc[t]is*, and present many slight variations from the most common types.⁶⁷

The autobiographic formulae of inscriptions set up by persons to themselves and others are more numerous, but represent the different phases of but one theme, the *iura sepulchrorum*: for these details, as already pointed out by Mommsen (Staatsrecht II³, 1 (1887), pp. 70-71), they are our sole source of information. Their language is close to that of the official inscriptions that are autobiographic only in appearance (see p. 218), the personal touch being often a single *meus* or *noster*: but the repeated forms are few.

Only one inscription giving the details of building a monument, C. I. L. XIV, 3857, has any personal formula, and there the words, *uti me viva determinavi*, are incidental.

The epitaphs, however, which name the persons who can have a place in the monument frequently contain autobiographic elements. They all have a legal and formulaic flavor, but the very fact that the provisions vary according to individual caprice tends to diminish the repeated formulae and modify them at will. In such formulae as do occur, like *quibus caverò, quos in testamento nominaverò, quos manumisi*, there are always additions, if not changes, designed to make the reference more explicit;⁶⁸ in fact, the only case of an exact duplication is in two inscriptions from the same part of Rome, C. I. L. VI, 10173 and 19882, one of which is plainly copied from the other.

The formulae for the prohibitions of alienation and the notices of legal penalties are more often repeated exactly and are less vividly personal, as these points were determined more by fixed statutes than by individual taste and were more intimately associated with the religious character of the burial. The briefest pagan expression forbidding alienation, which is rarely extended, is *ne de nomine meo (or nostro) exeat*: this is restricted to Rome.⁶⁹ The more personal injunctions, which approach the stage of a formula, as *veto donari*, are likewise confined to Rome and Ostia.⁷⁰ A Christian formula of the fifth century, more elaborate than these, is found in Concordia; it runs (C. I. L. V, 2305): *rogo et peto omnem clerum et cuncta(m) fraternitatem ut nullus de genere vel aliquis in hac sepultura ponatur*.⁷¹

In the notices of penalties, which are more widely spread, the personal feeling is still less prominent. All that generally appears in autobiographic form is *post obitum meum* (or *nostrum*) or *post me* and like phrases, or *supra (corpora) nostra*;⁷² where the prohibition is limited to heirs, the possessive is used with *heres*; twice, in C. I. L. III, 2107 (= 8589) and 13917, both from Saloniae, the

only autobiographic elements are *decuriae meae* and *curiae nostr(a)e*. The first named form, the earliest instances of which date from the second century (Eph. Epigr. vol. 8, p. 367, no. 30, C. I. L. VI, 10791, Ant. Pius), was specially favored at Concordia and in the rest of northern Italy, and at Salonae, during the fourth and fifth centuries. At Concordia also appears a formula commending the sarcophagus to some organization for the purpose of seeing that the penalty is enforced (C. I. L. V, 8740, 8745, 8755).

Phrases of similar import are sometimes indifferently used by the dead or by the living who set up their own monument. These are twofold, either an entreaty not to disturb the tomb, or a wish that the person who does disturb it may meet with the sorrow of the living. They vary somewhat in order and detail, but the first always has a phrase like *rogo (deos) superos inferosque ut,*¹⁸ the second, *si quis manus intulerit, . . . opto.*¹⁹

When the dead is represented as speaking, the ideas expressed in formulae are various. First, just as the living wish that the earth may rest lightly on the dead, (see p. 235), so the dead addresses the passer-by, in either prose or verse, saying, "speak, I pray, passer-by, 'may earth rest lightly on thee'!"²⁰ This is particularly common in Spain, in fact, so common that it often appears in abbreviated form; e. g., C. I. L. II, 415 (Büch. 1453), *d(ic)r(ogo) p(raeteriens), s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).*²¹ And as on the earlier Christian monuments the living ask the dead to pray for them (see p. 236), so in much later Christian times the dead say, *qui legis, ora pro me, rogo vos omnes, orate pro me, etc.*²²

But further, the words of the dead have their own typical formulae. Most of the prose inscriptions are dialogues. The bystander says, *ave* or *vale*: the dead replies, *bene valeas qui me salutas*. This seems a late form, for the in-

scriptions containing it generally exhibit the mistakes of a later time.⁷⁶ Again, sometimes the thoughts of the dead about life and death are given in conventional prose or poetical forms. These clearly show the difference between pagan and Christian ideas: in the pagan type the dead, though conceived of as living, strangely utters the Epicurean 'I was not, I am not, it makes no difference,' which denies the fact of his existence;⁷⁷ the Christian says, *credo (me) resurgere*, as in C. I. L. X, 1377, 1380, 4525, not earlier than the seventh century. Finally, the inscription may become a warning to the person addressed, as C. I. L. VIII, 9913, *viator, quod tu, et ego, quod ego, et omnes* (see also XI, 6243, Rev. Arch. Fourth Series, vol. 6 (1905), p. 493, no. 210), and C. I. L. II, 2262, *tu qui stas et legis titulum meum, lude, iocar[e], veni* (see also 1434, 1877, the latter having abbreviations).

The poetic bits not already mentioned which are repeatedly spoken by the dead as formulae are varied and instructive. The most common is the line addressed to their parents by children who died at an early age, as *noli dolere*; several variations of this form appear. The formula is found as early as the reign of Augustus: the earliest examples come from Rome (Büch. 145-8, cf. 1537-44, and add C. I. L. VI, 36654). Other distichs and parts of poems are found at most four or five times, and are often incorporated with other lines. Once the deceased boasts of his poor but honest life, in C. I. L. III, 2835 (Büch. 992), before Claudius, VI, 2489 (Büch. 991), 29 A. D.:

vixi quad potui (variant, quod volui) semper bene pauper honeste,

fraudavi nullum, nunc (variant, quod) iuvat ossa mea.

Again, he speaks to the living, often pointing out that death is ever at hand:⁷⁸ in others, a contrast is made between the

past and present existence, to the latter's advantage or disadvantage.⁸¹ The last two classes resemble closely the similar prose formulae.

Since these poetic formulae were common property, the combination of several of them was a matter of course; and so there exist several pieces of autobiographic patchwork. But even these patchworks go by rule. There are four which are identical in the arrangement of the pieces; the words are somewhat changed, but with the object in each case of fitting the forms to the details of the particular life. The whole runs about thus:

tu qui praeteriens spectas monimentum meum,
aspice quam indigne sit data vita mea.
annorum septem vixi dulcissima patri,
octavo ingrediens (or escendens) animam deposui meam.
noli dolere, mater, aetati meae,
Fatus quod voluit abstulit. (varied)
te, lapis, obtestor, leviter super ossa quiescas,
ne tenerae aetati tu gravis esse velis.⁸² (varied)

At this point the question may be raised of the origin of these repeated poetic formulae and especially the manner in which they were transferred from one epitaph to another. All agree that the prose forms are of Roman origin and part of the regular stock of the stone-cutters. For the poetic formulae two theories have been advanced. The older theory, that of Cagnat, is that the stone-cutters had certain handbooks or collections from which they drew the forms they employed on the epitaphs (Rev. d. Phil. vol. 13 (1889), p. 51 ff.). This has been lately disputed by Lier (in Philologus, vol. 62 (1903), pp. 445 ff., 563 ff., 63 (1904), p. 54 ff.); he thinks that the persons themselves copied the inscriptions from other stones, particularly the eulogies of great men set up in public places, these other epitaphs being in turn modeled on Greek sources.

Of these two theories, the first is much nearer the truth as applied to the autobiographic formulae. There is absolutely no proof of the use of such formulae in the epitaphs of distinguished men; the one early epitaph of a noted man we have (C. I. L. I, 38 = VI, 1293, Büch. 958) contains none of these forms, and they had developed long before the higher classes again took up autobiography, at the end of the second century. Further, when the same lines occur on monuments of approximately the same date in different parts of the Roman world as far separated as Rome and Dalmatia (C. I. L. III, 2835, VI, 2489, see p. 239), Moesia Inferior and Syria (C. I. L. III, 13809 = 14217¹, Büch. 859, 3d cent.; 14165¹, late 3d cent.), with slight variations which are easily explained as stone-cutter's errors, the chances of copying are reduced to a minimum. To be sure in one instance there is a certain transference of a poem of three lines, name and all (C. I. L. XI, 3963, Büch. 591; Eph. Epigr. vol. 8, p. 380, no. 80), and two other poems are repeated, with an appreciable difference in date between the examples, where one serves to correct the other:²⁸ but these are isolated cases. It is only fair to suppose that the stone-cutters had a supply of these common forms at hand, not necessarily in regular books, to offer as suggestions, just as they do now. In fact, the two advertisements we have of stone-cutters, one, C. I. L. VI, 9556, *d m | titulos scri | bendos vel | si quid ope | ris marmor | ari opus fu | erit hic ha | bes*, the other, X, 7296, *στηλαὶ | ἐνθάδε | τυποῦνται καὶ | χαρίσσονται | ναοῖς ἱεροῖς | σὺν ἐνεργείαις | δημοσίαις, | tituli | heic | ordinantur et | sculpuntur | aidibus sacreis | cum operum | publicorum*, show definitely that the composition and arranging of inscriptions according to certain forms was part of their business (see Huebner, Prol. to the Exempla, p. xxv ff., xxx.). A short time would suffice to show them that it was easier to use the same forms over again, if these met

the wishes and purses of their patrons; and the formulae thus developed would after a time become widely known among the profession, either in certain localities or over a good part of the Roman world. Any variations in the formulae can be accounted for in one of at least three ways, as errors of the stone-cutter following his copy, or as made necessary by the different relationships for which the same form was used, or as caused by the officiousness of the person ordering, who wished to improve on the regular form, and generally spoiled the metre.

So "good form" and religious conservatism, as shown in the mere variation from third to first person, with the retention of the regular form, or in the development of an autobiographic formula, did their best to restrain the strong autobiographic feeling: but it would not down. Less than half the examples of epitaphs collected can by any stretch be brought under these two heads; the rest show more individual traits. This is not to deny that the remaining epitaphs often keep close to the ordinary outlines for such inscriptions, or that personal and impersonal are often distinctly kept apart: it means simply that in an inscription true autobiographic elements are present which are not repeated elsewhere. To discuss all these details would involve a separate account of each inscription; it must suffice here to take up the prose and poetic epitaphs separately, and, having classified them into large groups, point out the noteworthy features of each group.

Of the prose epitaphs there are but few types, and these, as might be expected, express the same ideas as those for which a formula was developed. First, where the living set up inscriptions to the dead, and do not include themselves, as a rule they do the talking. Very rarely, as in C. I. L. V, 8856, late, VI, 18378, 165 A. D., XIII, 1508, 6th cent., Bull. Crist. Second Series, vol. 4 (1873), p. 56, 4th

cent., are they content with noting that they wrote the inscription. Plain and unadorned autobiographic details are also rare and brief; the living person gives such facts as the time when he first met or married the dead, the number of children, or the years 'we lived together.'⁵⁴ Most of these epitaphs, especially those set up by husbands to wives or wives to husbands, assume the character of laudations, which ring about as true as the corresponding praises on modern tombstones. Sometimes the same ideas are uttered as in the variations of the type *de quo nihil dolui nisi mortem*, as in C. I. L. VI, 11511, 25022 (see p. 233): generally, however, the encomium is more pronounced. Using a wealth of superlatives, the person living ascribes to the dead every virtue;⁵⁵ indeed, he sometimes says the dead has left him a debt of gratitude he can never repay.⁵⁶ A typical instance is the late inscription, C. I. L. VI, 29580:

d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum). | Urbanae coniugi dulcissime | et
castissimae ac rarissimae, cuius praeclarius | nihil fuisse certus,
hoc etiam titulo honorari | meruit; quae ita mecum cum summa
iucunditate adque simplicitate in diem vitae suae | egit, quam
adfectioni coniugali tam | industria morum suorum; haec ideo |
adieci ut legentes intelligant quantum | nos dilexerimus. | Pa-
ternus b(ene) m(erenti) f(eci).

How insincere these protestations sometimes are may be inferred from the one epitaph set up by an honest man, C. I. L. VI, 29149. He begins by dedicating it to his 'dearest wife,' but goes on to say that 'on the day of her death I gave greatest thanks in presence of gods and men'; this shows clearly the value of conventional praise when compared with the truth.

The immediate inspiration of these praises seems to have been the public *laudationes* delivered for the dead;⁵⁷ three of these, C. I. L. VI, 10230, of Murdia, and 1527, of Turcia, both of the Augustan Age, and XIV, 3579, of Matidia,

mother-in-law of Hadrian, are in part extant on inscriptions. These are more carefully elaborated for delivery than the ordinary praises, but the general outlines of the thought and the turns of speech are much the same. The humbler classes then, it seems, modeled their more extended laudations on those of the rich, and the usage so borrowed became a fairly regular form; an Augustalis of Brescia, after indicating that the stone was erected in accordance with his will, says expressly, *deinde hoc elogium breve* (C. I. L. V, 4445).

Separate mention must be made of the pagan epitaphs in which living persons commend others to the dead. Examples are: the expression, *parce matrem tuam et patrem et sororem tuam Marinam, ut possint tibi facere post me sollemnia*, in C. I. L. VI, 13101, late; VI, 9349 b, of the late Republic; VI, 18817. The underlying idea is that of the other commendations to deities associated with death, the *devotiones* (see p. 229): but here the Manes are to protect and not harm the dead. This, it seems to me, is also the idea of the Christian commendations to saints already mentioned (p. 236).

The laudations just discussed are not necessarily confined, however, to inscriptions in which the living are not included; they are likewise found in a few well distributed examples where living persons set up the stone to themselves and the dead.⁸⁸ Nor do these praises prevent the dead from speaking too in the same epitaph; this is rare, but there are at least two instances, C. I. L. III, 3989, VII, 9513, both late.

Second, where the dedicator (presumably living, though *vivus* or its equivalent is not always present) includes himself in the inscription as well as others, the prevalent autobiographic expressions refer to the erection and preservation of the monument, and thus exactly correspond to the

second class of autobiographic formulae noticed previously (p. 236). Indeed, such epitaphs as these are all so legal and conventional that it is often difficult to determine whether a given phrase is peculiar to one inscription or occurs as a repeated formula; and some formulae could be added to those already enumerated, if greater allowance were made for variations in language.

The types are thus practically the same. There are first the many epitaphs giving details of the construction of a monument and the persons for whom it is intended, at some length. Here a new variety claims attention, composed of certain examples from *columbaria*. These are rather records of the purchase of niches and the assignment of them than sepulchral inscriptions: for instance, as a part of C. I. L. VI, 33454, of the late Republic or early Empire, we have, *emi de G(aius) Matius G(ai) l(ibertus) Cyrus* (sic) *ollas IIX* (see also VI, 23400, 28687, 28778; Inscr. Christ. I, 395, of 391 A. D.). Further, the usual prohibitions against alienation and the statement of penalties to be inflicted occur. Here again the language is formulaic: but it must be noted that the same ideas, when expressed in repeated formulae, produce formulae of the very weakest personal nature (see p. 237).

The analogy between the individual autobiographic epitaphs and the formulae is shown in still another way. Certain formulae already mentioned (p. 238) are put indifferently into the mouths of the dead or the living; in the same manner a few individual autobiographic epitaphs contain similar remarks regarding the funeral, the desecration of the grave, and the like, spoken by any person interested. For example, in four instances the dead give information of funeral rites (C. I. L. II, 2146, cf. VI, 12649), or of the monument (C. I. L. I, 1253 = X, 1049, VI, 18677 a; Bull. Arch. 1903, p. 560, no. 7, Africa). Again, either the dead,

or the living setting up a monument to themselves or to the dead, hope that violation or neglect may cause sufferings like their own: for example, in C. I. L. VI, 7308, of about 50 A. D., a woman, referring to her dead son, says, *si quis huius ammuerit, iendem dolorem experiscatur quem ego experta sum*.⁸⁰ Twice (C. I. L. VI, 14098, 14099) the living commend desecrators to the Sun's wrath. Further, the dead, especially on later Christian tombs, beg that the monument may receive no harm, as in C. I. L. V, 7793, 568 A. D., *rogo te . . . ne me tangas nec sepulcrum meum violis, nam ante t[ri]bunal aeterni iudicis mecum causam dicis*.⁸¹ Then any dedicator may appeal for care of the tomb, as in C. I. L. XIII, 1849 (Büch. 1594), *hunc titulum quem feci coiugi carae et mihi vivus oro flor[i]bus Florum hilares condecoretis amici* (see also VI, 23363, a). Finally, any one concerned may wish all good to passers-by who read the epitaph; this last is practically formulaic, appearing in variations of *opto valeas qui legeris*.⁸²

There is one important class of these *iura sepulchrorum*, however, which has no parallel in the formulae. They record the willing of certain properties or moneys, usually to a college or municipality, on the condition of performance of certain annual rites.⁸³ The person making the bequest may be either living or dead. There can be no doubt that these are abstracts from wills, as an inscription from Aquileia (C. I. L. V, Suppl. Ital. 181) definitely indicates this fact. That the abstracts labeled *caput ex testamento* have been considered pseudo-autobiographic (see p. 221), the abstracts not labeled autobiographic, is due to the fact that the former are distinctly called quotations, while the latter are conceived of as direct personal utterances.

In the third place, where the dead person is represented as speaking from the tomb, whether as really or nominally dead, there is greater variety. Besides isolated autobio-

graphic details, we find here for the first time extended autobiographies, as those of the charioteer Calpurnianus (C. I. L. VI, 10047, 3d-4th cent.) and of Quintus Aemilius Secundus (C. I. L. V, *136, Not. d. Scav. 1880, p. 243, Eph. Epigr. vol. 4, p. 537 ff., ca. 3 B. C.-6 A. D.). The latter I quote in full:

Q(uintus) Aemilius Q(uinti) f(ilius) | Pal(atina tribu) Se-
cundus, [in] | castris divi Aug(usti) s[ub] | P(ublio) Sulpi[c]io
Quirinio le[g](ato) Aug(usti) | C[a]esaris Syriae honori | bus
decoratus, pr[a]efect(us) | cohort(is) Aug(ustae) (primae), pr[a]e-
fect(us) | cohort(is) (secundae) Classicae; idem | iussu Quirini
censum egi | Apamenae civitatis mil | lium homin(um) civium
(centum septendecim); | idem missu Quirini adversus | Ituraeos
in Libano Monte | castellum eorum cepi; et ante | militem prae-
fect(us) fabrum, | delatus a duobus co(n)s(ulibus) ad ae | rarium,
et in colonia | quaestor, aedil(is) (iterum), duumvir (iterum), |
pontifex. | Ibi positi sunt Q(uintus) Aemilius Q(uinti) f(ilius)
Pal(atina tribu) | Secundus f(ilius) et Aemilia Chia lib(erta). |
H(oc) m(onumentum) amplius h(eredem) n(on) s(equitur).

This easily degenerates into self-laudation, varying from a line or so, as in C. I. L. V, 7446, *vixi frugi*,²² to more elaborate praises found in a later period, as C. I. L. VI, 12013 (note also here the resemblance to Cicero, *De Senectute*, quoted on p. 233), 18659, VIII, 724 (=Büch. 1612, 3d cent.), all of which are as unreliable as the praises of false friends.

These praises are often accompanied by an address to passers-by, as in C. I. L. III, 14406 a, *resta, viator, et lege titulo nestro, dunc leces et perausas* (cf. III, 3980, IX, 5860, Bull. Arch. 1907, p. 241, Africa). Similar addresses are also found alone. The person buried may give a simple greeting like the *amice, have et vale, ego hic situs sum*, of C. I. L. VI, 25548 (cf. VI, 24600, Rev. Arch. Third Series, vol. 21 (1893), p. 390, no. 64), or ask for such a greeting C. I. L. VIII, 20394), or for a *sit tibi terra levis* (Rev.

Arch. Fourth Series, vol. 3 (1904), p. 298, no. 22; cf. a similar impersonal form in Eph. Epigr. vol. 7, p. 375, no. 1247). Once he adds to the greeting a plea for good will and care of his parents (C. I. L. III, 14206^a); more commonly he utters a word of advice, as in C. I. L. V, 3466, *vos moneo in Nemese ne fidem habeatis; sic sum deceptus. Ave, vale.*^a In the same way consolation or advice is given to relatives and friends, or gratitude is expressed, thus: *linque iam pl[e]re, marite, lacrimas, quoniam me tibi tullit genesis iniqua et p(ost) m(ortem) nihil* (C. I. L. X, 4022); *havete, amici et amicae boni, Eutyche et Oeconome et Princeps, ago memoriae vestrae gratias. Bonis bene* (C. I. L. VI, 14537.)^a

Utterances of grief are found only now and then, as in C. I. L. VI, 33473, *ann(um) vicensimum exsicens misera occidi*, of the beginning of the Empire (see also VI, 25075, Christian, 27227, XIII, 7119); their logical place is on the tombstones of children who died at an early age, for example, C. I. L. V, 1725, VIII, 21200. Brief sentences referring to death and the life hereafter are more frequent; with few exceptions (C. I. L. VI, 5817, 23709, XII, 5193), the nature of the state after death is indicated and commented upon. In every instance this state is one of peace and rest; thus a freedman of a Flavian emperor says, *aliquando securus sum* (C. I. L. VI, 10251, a).^a Once also, in Inscr. Christ. I, 1087, of 544 or 533 A. D., the Christian belief in immortality is spoken of at greater length than in the conventional forms (see p. 239).

This enumeration perhaps does not exhaust the possibilities, but is intended to suggest the general range of ideas: what is to be noticed is that here, as in the other prose epitaphs, the same commonplace ideas are emphasized that are expressed in a more stereotyped way in the formulae.

The sepulchral inscriptions containing poetry follow much the same lines as the prose epitaphs. A somewhat simpler classification, however, can be adopted, that is, into epitaphs in which the living speak to or about the dead and themselves, and those in which the dead are supposed to address the living. Sometimes both kinds of addresses are found in the same epitaph, and occasionally the whole assumes the form of a real dialogue: these examples are treated separately as a third division.

The utterances of the living are much less frequent than those of the dead, except in Christian epitaphs, in which the reverse is true. A poetic subscription in autobiographic form, as, *haec, Germana, tibi Theodorus frater et heres | quae relegant olim saecula futura dedi*, in C. I. L. V, 6240 (Büch. 1434, Christian), is rare;⁷⁷ still less common are the brief narrations of autobiographic details, as in C. I. L. II, 3871 (Büch. 978, Augustan), III, 14237, VI, 28753 (Büch. 108), X, 1688 (Büch. 888), or references to the erection and purpose of the monument, as in C. I. L. VI, 25547 (Büch. 1293) *haec coniunx posui tibi dona merenti, hic erit et nobis una aliquando domus*, X, 5819 (Büch. 641), XII, 1036 (Büch. 203, 3d cent.), Rev. Arch. Third Series, vol. 37 (1900), p. 510, no. 196. A similar scarcity of brief subscriptions and unadorned autobiographic details has already been noted in the prose epitaphs set up by the living (pp. 242-3).

More often certain ideas which appear in the formulae are present, though generally forming but a part of a longer poem. In particular the wish is expressed that the earth may rest lightly on the dead (see p. 235).⁷⁸ Here the indebtedness to the poets is much more evident than for the formulae: in fact, one man has merely copied the lines of Ovid, Amores, 3, 9, 67-8, *ossa quieta, precor, tuta requiescite in urna, et sit humus cineri non onerosa tuo*, and

substituted the name *Zopyre* for *tuta* (C. I. L. VIII, 12302, Büch. 1242). Further, we have again the complaint that the living have done for the dead what the dead should have done for them (see p. 233)."

But most of the poems are more elaborated. In those most highly developed there are first certain details about the life of the dead, giving such information as name, age, relationship, cause of death and relatives left behind. Then follows a *laudatio*, like those of the similar prose inscriptions; the praises consist of the usual commonplace ideas. Thus the dead possessed every good quality and can hardly be adequately honored by the poor monument; the Fates have been most cruel and the death was sudden and unexpected; the bereaved person's grief is terrible and his only wish is to join the dead. Those who have gone, it is hoped or confidently asserted, are resting happily in the Elysian Fields, or have even become gods. In conclusion there is often an appeal to the Manes or to the passer-by, a wish that the earth may rest lightly on the dead, or a simple statement about the person who set up the stone. Of course all these elements by no means occur in every poem: but the laudatory remarks are there, even if others are absent, whether altogether omitted or contained in a separate prose inscription. To illustrate this we may quote C. I. L. VIII, 403 = 11511 (Büch. 1329), in which the usual details are in prose, and VIII, 152 (Büch. 516), which is entirely in verse. The first runs:

d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum). | Mevia Felicitas vixit | annis (quadraginta). Q(uintus) Calpurnius | Fortunatus maritus coniū | gi karissime posuit.

non digna coniunx cito vita [exire de] | crevistis misella.
vivere debue | ras annis fere centu(m) licebat,
fuit enim forma certior mo | resque facundi,

fuit et pu | dicitia quam in alis nec | fuisse dicam nec esse |
contendam.
set quia | sunt Manes, sit tibi ter | ra levis. | h(ic) s(ita) e(st).

The other reads:

Urbanilla mihi coniunx verecunda plena hic sita est,
Romae comes negotiorum socia parsimonio fulta.
Bene gestis omnibus cum in patria mecum rediret,
Au miseram Carthago mihi eripuit sociam.
Nulla spes vivendi mihi sine coniuge tali:
Illa domum servare meam, illa et consilio iuvare.
Luce privata misera quiescit in marmore clusa.
Lucius ego coniunx hic te marmore texti.
Anc nobis sorte dedit fatu(m), cum luci daremur.¹⁰⁰

Apart from these longer poems, there are a few short ones, each of which deals with one special item of the various kinds of praises just noted: thus in C. I. L. VI, 15225, (Büch. 204) we have:

si pro virtute et animo fortunam habuissem,
magnificum monumentum hic aedificassem tibi;
nunc quoniam omnes mortui idem sapimus, satis est.¹⁰¹

In all these eulogies there is little distinction between pagan and Christian epitaphs, as in both the expressions of grief and undue praise are equally strong.¹⁰² Still in the latter the living sometimes find a consolation unknown to the pagans in the belief that the dead person has surely gone to heaven. Thus C. I. L. X, 1230 (Büch. 739), says at the end:

coniugio nostro nec mors [d]ivortia ponet.
concordes animas Christ[u]s revocabit in unum.¹⁰³

Special mention must be made in passing of the longest poem in the entire collection, C. I. L. VIII, 212, 213 (Büch. 1552), of one Titus Flavius Secundus living at Cillium in the time of the Antonines, on a monument for other members of his family. Its theme is the beauty and

value of the monument to which it is affixed; and the interesting fact is, that the monument as described by travelers measures up well with the glowing terms of the inscription.

Second, where the dead person speaks, the ideas he expresses are again those of the prose epitaphs in which he is represented as talking. Regular autobiographic details, however, or rather, self-laudations, are in the poetry the rule and not the exception. These differ very greatly in length. Occasionally there are only a couple of lines which give the person's name and age or note the fact that a certain relative erected the tombstone, thus: C. I. L. XI, 5882 (Büch. 1843), of the first or second century, *Nassius hic situs sum L(uci) l(ibertus) Amandus, parvolus | aeterna conditus in requie*; C. I. L. IX, 5806 (Büch. 985) *hic mihi hoc posuit mors mea quoi doluit*, a phrase practically repeated in V, 4170 (Büch. 163).¹⁰⁴ But more often the narrative is of greater extent. Two types of such narratives had developed about the end of the second century B. C. The first type makes no appeal to the passer-by, but gives the name and rank of the person buried, if that has not already been stated in prose, and adds words of self-praise, varying from four or five lines to a long poem which rings the changes on the stock ideas already noted several times, some of which are repeated in the discussion of the second type (see *infra*). This first type is earliest found in Rome. Our first certain poem containing autobiographic elements is of this character; one of the Scipios, praetor in 139 B. C., after a list of his offices, says (C. I. L. I, 38 = VI, 1293, Büch. 958):

virtutes generis mieis moribus accumulavi,
progenie mi genui, facta patris petiei,
malorum optenui laudem ut sibi me esse creatum
laetentur; stirpem nobilitavit honor.

This type is always favored by the higher officials,¹⁰⁸ besides large numbers of the common people.¹⁰⁹

The second type is more complicated. When fully worked out, it begins with a request to the passer-by to stop and read. Next comes the relation of autobiographic details, which may vary from a plain statement of name and occupation to an ornate description and long eulogy. Throughout the latter are strewn the thoughts familiar from the prose epitaphs. The most frequent idea is the complaint about the suddenness of death and the cruelty of the Fates; in the pagan examples the notion of death as a rest from trouble is much rarer than in the prose. On the contrary, the Christian examples speak very often of the joys of immortality. Any special consolation addressed to the living is also rare, and then is liable to take a stereotyped form like *noli dolere*, etc. (see p. 239). After all this, the poem concludes with a second address to the passer-by. The variations in this last find their counterpart in the prose epitaphs. Sometimes the reader (or mortals generally, including him) is dismissed with a word; again, a wish for better fortune on his part or a warning that death awaits him is added. The usual desire also that he may express to the dead the wish *sit tibi terra levis* is stated both in the stereotyped formulae and more freely; twice (C. I. L. VIII, 7759, Büch. 1327; X, 8131, age of Hadrian), the phrase of Ovid, Trist. 3, 3, 76, *Nasonis molliter ossa cubent*, which he uses to conclude his own fictitious autobiographic epitaph, is borrowed, and the name changed to fit, thus destroying the metre. This appeal may be expanded into a general request to those above for the care of the grave and celebration of ceremonies.

A good example of this second type, shorter than some, is C. I. L. V, 6808 (Büch. 63), written not long before the Christian era:

G(al) Paguri G(al) l(iberti) Gelot[i]s.
 hospes resiste et tumultum hunc excelsum aspic[e],
 quo continentur ossa parvae aetatulae.
 sepulta heic (haec, ms.) sita sum, verna quouius aetatula (ae,
 ms.).
 gravitatem officio et lanificio praestitel.
 queror fortunae cassum tam iniquom et grave[m].
 nomen [s]i quaeres, exoriatur (exoraturi, ms.) Salviae,
 valebis hospis, opto ut seīs (sanctis, ms.) felicior.¹⁰⁷

The earliest appearance of this second type may at first seem doubtful. The earliest example on stone is the epitaph of one Philotimus from Rome, from the earlier part of the first century B. C. (C. I. L. VI, 33919 a (Büch. 848); for the date see Kubitschek, in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* vol. 17 (1894), p. 161. This is duplicated, with change of name and other slight modifications, in an epigram ascribed by Gellius (1, 24) to Pacuvius, said by him to have been placed on the poet's tomb, which must have been at Tarentum, where he died about 130 B. C. (see Teuffel-Schwabe, trans. Warr, p. 155). But the entire lack of connection of Pacuvius with this sepulchral form, as pointed out by Bormann,¹⁰⁸ seems clear. As he says, this epigram could not have emanated from Tarentum at the time, and was never used for the tomb of Pacuvius or written by him; Varro, in his *De poetis* borrowed for Pacuvius a sepulchral form common in Rome from Sulla to Cicero's death, as he used for Plautus and Naevius epigrams of a literary character which have long since been shown to have no relation with those authors or their tombs; and Gellius, whose source here is the *De poetis*, made a mistake in all three cases when using that source. Still less, I may add, did Pacuvius have anything to do with the general type under discussion; this is found already in a fine epitaph of the Gracchan period, C. I. L. I, 1007 = VI, 15346 (Büch. 52), where the stone, not a person, speaks. In short, this second type is clearly

of Roman origin, connected with no name and dating back nearly as far as the first type: it becomes common in Rome and elsewhere as early as the time of Caesar (see C. I. L. I, 1009 = VI, 10096, Büch. 55, ca. Caesar, 1027 = VI, 9545, Büch. 74, late Rep.; 1220 = IX, 1837, Büch. 960, Caesar: cf. I, 1006 = VI, 13696, Büch. 11, Accius).

This second type, however, is not always so completely worked out; often the dismissal of the reader at the end is wanting,¹⁰⁰ and as frequently the appeal at the beginning is absent.¹⁰¹ But in any event, besides the self-laudatory part, there is always at least one address to a second party.

The Christian inscriptions in which the dead speak all conform to one of these two types: they add only the statements of hopes aroused by belief in Heaven and trust in Christ, and an occasional address to some saint. Thus for the first type may be cited Inscr. Christ. II, 1, p. 79, no. 6 (Büch. 1432):

(H)elpis dicta fui, Siculae regionis alumna,
quam procul a patria coniugis egit amor,
quo sine maesta dies, nox anxia, flebilis hora,
nec solum caro sed spiritus unus erat.
lux mea non clausa est tali remanente marito,
maioriq(ue) animae parte superstis ero.
porticibus sacris iam non peregrina quiesco
iudicis aeterni testificata thronum,
ne qua manus bustum violet, nisi forte iugalis
haec iterum cupiat iungere membra suis,
ut thalami tumuliq(ue) comis nec morte revellar
et socios vitae nectat uterq(ue) cinis;¹⁰²

and for the second type Inscr. Christ. II, 1, p. 273, no. 3 (Büch. 756):

aspicite venientes hic mea membra sepulta:
hic recubo felix parva etate peremta.
Felicia mic(h)i nomen est ex progenie ductum,
octavo etatis in s(ae)clo gesseram anno.

dulcis eram patri et garrula matri,
 serbis eram leta, tota me leta ferebam.
 non vitium mors, consuetudo propria natis,
 virginio iam in cetu nunc letior adsto.
 ultime cum dominus totum concusserit orbem,
 tunc cineres (l)sti mundo pereunte resurget.¹¹²

In the same way the Greek sepulchral poems found in connection with Latin poetry or prose, mostly of the first and second centuries, conform to the same types;¹¹³ exceptions are of course the stock complaint to Hades (C. I. L. VI, 15038, Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 578), and the Greek epigrams of Sulpicius (C. I. L. VI, 33976, Kaibel, Ep. 618, ca. 94 A. D.).

But these two types do not include the entire number in which the dead speak; for there are a few briefer inscriptions which utter the well-worn thoughts that have been so often mentioned before. There are first the usual wishes that the reader may say, *sit tibi terra levis* or words to that effect,¹¹⁴ or for the proper celebration of funeral rites, as in C. I. L. III, 4185 (Büch. 578), which is paralleled in thought by Martial 10, 61, an epitaph of Erotion; or again, there may be warnings against desecration (C. I. L. VI, 5767, Büch. 1101, 1st cent., XI, 4126, Büch. 194), and good wishes for those who read (C. I. L. V, 7430, Büch. 1464, X, 6616, Büch. 127) and others (C. I. L. VIII, 8123, Büch. 1287). Sententious advice is also bestowed on the living, as the *nihil sumus et fuimus mortales*. [*r*]espice lector, in *nihil ab nichilo quam cito recidimus* of C. I. L. VI, 26003 (Büch. 1495);¹¹⁵ in this and other examples the inscription has the general form of the second type just discussed. Further the feeling is once more expressed that the dead should rather have erected the stone for the living (C. I. L. III, 729, Büch. 1485; see p. 233). And again, those *sententiae*, some of an Epicurean nature, giving vent

to the joy of escape from life, occur; for example, C. I. L. VI, 18131 (Büch. 244), *quod edi bibi, mecum habeo, quod reliqui, peridi*.¹⁶ The last named approach closely to the general *sententiae* which are spoken of above (see p. 217) as not truly autobiographic; the line between the two is rather uncertain. Finally there are the *centos*, poems of several disjointed parts in various metres, as C. I. L. VI, 13528 (Büch. 1559, last half 2d cent.), 21975 (Büch. 67, ca. 100-50 B. C.), and VIII, 3319 (Büch. 1608); similar noble patchworks of the regular formulae have already been cited (see p. 240).

Third, when both living and dead speak on the same epitaph, for the most part there is no real dialogue, simply inscriptions of the two kinds placed on separate sides of the same stone, or at best a juxtaposition without organization. We may cite for instance C. I. L. I, 1011 = VI, 9499 (Büch. 959), dating from about the time of Sulla's death; at the right, under a woman's name, we read:

viva Philematium sum | Aurelia nominata, |
 casta, pudens, volgel | nescia, feida viro. |
 vir conleibertus fuit | eidem, quo careo | eheu, |
 ree fuit ee vero plus | superaue parens. |
 septem me naatam | annorum gremio | ipse recepit;
 (quadraginta) | annos nata necis potior. |
 ille meo officio adsiduo florebat ad omnis;

at the left, under a man's name:

[h]aec quae me faato praecessit, corpore | casto |
 [c]onlunxs, una meo praedita amans | animo, |
 [f]ido fida viro veixsit, | studio parili qum |
 nulla in avaritie | cessit ab officio.¹⁷

The actual dialogues are very brief, as C. I. L. III, 2722=9729 (Büch. 1536):

hunc titulum posuit tibi fidus amicus:
 ultuma | quae potui debita pers[o]lvi. |

non dolere, mater: faciundum fuit.
 properavit | aetas, voluit hoc astrum meum.
 vale et priores | aetate te tollant hunc luctum tibi.

See also VI, 22102 (Büch. 92), and the Greek inscription, VI, 35361 (Kaibel, I. G. I. 1514 a, 4th cent.). The one exception contains two dialogues, one of the dead and the wayfarer, the other of the living and dead, in speeches of some length (C. I. L. VI, 12652, Kaibel, Ep. 582, Büch. 995, Tiberius).

There are certain curiosities in sepulchral poetry which must be briefly noticed before entering on a discussion of the origin of all these classes of poems. Occasionally the name of the person honored by the epitaph is purposely obscured. The most striking instance of this is an African inscription, found in *Rev. Arch. Third Series*, vol. 24 (1894), p. 421, no. 90 (Büch. 1331), which definitely refuses to state the name and years, so as not to burden the reader with lasting grief. Twice the name is hinted at, once by noting that it is that of the first month, Ianuarius (C. I. L. X, 4183, Büch. 222, very late), the other time by the statement that it is the 'precious green gem,' Smaragdus (C. I. L. XIV, 1821, Büch. 563). But the most usual style is the acrostic. This is a later invention not earlier than the second century; it meets with special favor at Rome and in Africa, and is long continued in Christian usage.¹¹⁸ A good instance has already been cited in another connection (see p. 251).

Further, there are extant three epitaphs of pet dogs. On one the animal itself speaks (C. I. L. VI, 29896, Büch. 1175), on the others the person bereaved (C. I. L. X, 659, Büch. 1176, XIII, 488, Büch. 1512, 2d-3d cent.). These are modeled on the sepulchral inscriptions of people; at the same time they show to a slight extent the influence

of the famous verses on similar subjects in Catullus (3), Martial (1, 109) and Ovid (Amores 2, 6).

The authorship of all this poetry seems not difficult to determine. Several times the person erecting the monument expressly states that he composed the verses, as in C. I. L. VI, 28753 (Büch. 108), *Trebius Basileus coniunx quae scripsi dolens*;¹¹⁹ considering the general lack of merit in the productions, there is no good cause to doubt, as Tookien has done (cf. note 40), that these people are telling the truth. The quasi-metrical inscriptions generally called "commatic," which give only hints and fragments of metre, are also surely "home-made," patched up from pieces gathered from every quarter (see Büch. 1563-1622, some impersonal; A. J. A. Second Series, vol. 2 (1898), p. 396, no. 60). It is a natural inference too that, where the person named on the stone is a poet or rhetorician, he wrote his own poetic epitaph.¹²⁰ For the others, the theory of Lier is no more valid here than in the case of the formulae. The only early poetic *eulogium* of a man of rank is that of Scipio (see p. 252), and it had no direct influence on later inscriptions, as far as can be seen. On the other hand, several facts tend to confirm the assumption that these poems were the work of craftsmen who were both stone-cutters and poetasters, like Hawthorne's Mr. Wigglesworth. These facts are: the comparatively narrow range of ideas and the fewness of the poetic types; the joining of Greek epigrams to Latin prose; the use of "tags" from the classic poets, the repetition of similar "tags" from other sepulchral poems, and the occasional borrowing of a line (see Büch. *passim*, C. Hose in Rhein. Mus., vol. 50 (1895), p. 286 ff., Lier, *l. c.*); and the very existence of repeated formulae. All this would indicate, if there were no other evidence, the work of craftsmen who had accumulated a large stock-in-trade of commonplaces. But there are two lines of positive

epigraphic evidence which make this hypothesis a certainty. We have namely the expressions *ordinantur et sculpuntur*, *τυποῦνται καὶ χαράσσονται*, and *titulos scribendos* on the advertisements mentioned above (p. 241); and besides this, the definite addition of the poet's *scripsi(t)* in C. I. L. XIV, 3415 (Büch. 746, Christian, 4th cent.), Kraus, 38 (Büch. 321), where clearly no member of the family is intended.

The question of the source of all the ideas and forms of expression used by these poetasters must be briefly noticed, though rather outside the limits of the matter in hand. Kaibel (in *Hermes*, vol. 35, 1900, p. 567 ff.) and Lier (*l. c.* p. 449) have noted that certain of the Latin *sententiae* are apparently translations of epigrams in the Greek Anthology. Accepting this suggestion and starting from the theory that we have already criticized, Lier has tried to indicate how the contents of Latin poetic epitaphs were derived from Greek epitaphs, whence, or from the Greek prose "consolations," they also drew their form; he maintains further that one can never assume that a Greek poetic inscription, however late, was copied from a Latin one. This last statement is clearly open to objection, since in their prose inscriptions the Greeks borrowed even the Roman formulae, which are found in most of the Greek epitaphs from Italy as well as supposedly original Greek poetry. Further, the parallels Lier brings forward are not at all convincing; they form a curious jumble of early and late times, of famous and obscure authors, and can always be offset by Latin instances. Even the supposed translations from the Anthology look doubtful, as the poets cited are all minor and even obscure, and where the exact translation is sure (Büch. 1498, Anth. 9, 49), the author of the Greek epigram is unknown. It seems much more probable that the thoughts expressed as well as the forms of expression were to some extent suggested by the Latin poets, at least

for the thousand odd sepulchral poems written entirely in Latin; but that after all such thoughts are really common-places, peculiar to no time or country, and were thus part of the popular consciousness by the time the majority of these poems were composed.

The number of inscriptions containing autobiographic elements outside of the dedications and epitaphs is relatively small; but many of these are important, and among them are some of the purest autobiographic productions.

The honorary inscriptions, however, introduce autobiographic elements into the conventional form but once, C. I. L. VIII, 5367. In the five other instances (C. I. L. II, 1174, Antonines, 4514, end 2d cent., V, 1978, VIII, 1641, 175-180 A. D., X, 107) the first person is found in citations, not definitely so marked, from wills or other documents, giving money to a municipality or college for certain purposes, as the care of poor children and the celebration of birthdays. Similar citations are found in certain sepulchral inscriptions already discussed (see p. 246); but there of course the purpose of the inscription is entirely different.

Of special interest are the "autobiographic records." These have one definite aim, in spite of their varied content; they are bare statements of something done, with no purpose except to give information which reflects credit on the persons named. Several, both pagan and Christian, give details regarding the construction of public and private works;¹²¹ two are records on stone of requests and the granting of them, one for the transfer of bodies to a tomb (C. I. L. VI, 2120, 155 A. D.), the other for burials on a certain estate (VI, 10242, 136 A. D.). Another series from Saloniae (C. I. L. III, 1967, of 302 and 316 A. D., 1968, of 303, 319, 320 A. D., 8690) mentions the performance of a religious duty in a *collegium*. To this class further belong two interesting Imperial poems, one, C. I. L. VI, 1207

(Büch. 895) probably from a triumphal arch of uncertain date, the other, *Inscr. Christ.* II, 1, p. 55, no. 11 (Büch. 902), telling of the recovery of Constantine from a bad illness. Finally, there are the two most important documents of all. The one, *C. I. L.* VIII, 2728, of about 152 A. D., relates in interesting detail the engineering feat of a Nonius Datus, a *librator* of the third legion in Africa, in straightening out a mistake in the building of an aqueduct, adding a letter of praise written by his superior. The other, our earliest prose autobiography, *C. I. L.* I, 551 = X, 6950, of 132 B. C., is called the milestone of Publius Popilius; this is a real autobiography. It reads:

viam fecel ab Regio ad Capuam et | in ea via ponteis omneis
miliarios | tabelariosque posevei. Hinc sunt Nouceriam mellia
LI, Capuam XXCIIII, | Valentiam CLXXX/, ad fretum ad |
statuam CCXXXI/, Regium CCXXXVII; | suma af Capua Re-
gium mellia CCCXXI/. | et eidem praetor in | Sicilia fugiteivos
Italicorum | conquaesivei redideique | homines DCCCCXVII,
eidemque | primus fecel ut de agro poplico | aratoribus cederent
paastores. | Forum aedisque poplicas helc fecel.

From Tacitus (*Agricola* 1) we learn that celebrated men in early times wrote autobiographies, and the literary references are copious: but here on the enduring stone is a true autobiography which antedates by fully twenty years any literary autobiography recorded, the earliest one given being of a consul of 115 B. C.

In this class of "autobiographic records" we may place the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. The present generally accepted view seems to be that it was sepulchral;¹²² and certainly, after working through the material gathered above, one cannot accept the objections made to this view, as by O. Hirschfeld (*Wiener Studien*, vol. 7 (1885), p. 171), on the grounds of the unusual form, except the possible omission of the name of Augustus at the beginning or end. But

why not call it by the name which is suggested by Suetonius (Augustus 101) and Dio Cassius (56, 33), and in the present superscription, all of which reflect the light in which the Emperor himself must have viewed it, an *index rerum a se (me) gestarum*? It thus becomes simply an autobiographic account of those events of the Emperor's reign which he wished to have remembered, supplementing his earlier literary memoirs, which he placed before his tomb on bronze tablets, as Popilius one hundred and fifty years before had written out his humbler account and placed it by the roadside in a similarly conspicuous position.

Closely allied to the autobiographic records of a public character are private business records which contain autobiographic elements. Most of them, however, use conventional expressions. These formulae, as given in the Pompeian wax tablets, are two: *scripsi me accepisse*, of the person himself,¹²³ and *scripsi rogatu* (or *mandatu*), of the slave charged with writing the receipt.¹²⁴ Both of these formulae are found elsewhere as well: the first occurs even earlier on a tile from the country of the Frentani (C. I. L. IX, 6312, 19 A. D.), the second on later wax tablets from Dacia (C. I. L. III, pp. 948-9, nos. IX, 163 A. D., X, 164 A. D., XI), and in a Christian inscription from Rome (Bull. Crist. Second Series, vol. 5 (1874), p. 11). Further than these there are only two similar business documents, also written in formal business language. One, C. I. L. VI, 29791, assigns certain buildings to a daughter, the other, set in a house, C. I. L. X, 866, states *M(arco) Tofelano | M(arci) f(ilio) | Valenti, quod | amico donavi | (sestertio) n(ummi) (uno)*, a sum corresponding to our "one dollar and other valuable considerations."

Fully as stereotyped are the autobiographic inscriptions, other than *graffiti*, found on small objects of use and luxury.

Most important are the makers' marks, which resemble certain sepulchral inscriptions in merely having the name with *fecit* instead of the name with *fecit*, the more common form. These hardly occur in Rome (C. I. L. XV, 311 is doubtful: but cf. XV, 7224, a glass plaque); they are characteristic of pottery from Gaul, Germany and Britain,¹²⁵ and their presence on other objects, as a mosaic from Pompeii (C. I. L. X, 8146) and a lead pipe from Aricia (C. I. L. XIV, 2175), is unique. The other inscriptions, with autobiographic elements on small objects are descriptive; only two kinds are worth mentioning. First are those on tags attached to collars of slaves. These are mere labels, designed to prevent the loss of this valuable property; the slave himself speaks, telling the reader, "I am X's slave, hold, take me back to X," giving the master's address.¹²⁶ And second, of two consular diptychs, one, found in three examples, C. I. L. V, 8120³, XIII, 10032⁷ (Büch. 898, 521 A. D.²), bears a Latin distich, *munera par | va quidem pre | tio sed hono | ribus alma | patribus | ista meis offe | ro cons(ul) ego*, the other, found in three examples, V, 8120,⁴ XIII, 10032⁸ (Kaibel, Ep. 1119 a, 525 A. D.), a Greek distich of similar import.

The inscriptions thus far discussed may be classed as formal; that is, they are all written with some care on a separate object having a space prepared for receiving the inscription, and they are all written with a definite aim, as dedication, eulogy of the dead, or a mere designation of the purpose of an object, and with a view to permanence. The remaining inscriptions, consisting of *graffiti* from Pompeii and elsewhere, are of a different type. In form they are mere scratchings on something not originally intended to receive them, as a wall; in content they approach some of the formal inscriptions, being records of some event, but

they are usually chance expressions of the writer, of a transitory nature.

Two classes of these scratchings in particular are more stereotyped in form than the others and record events much like the more elaborate autobiographic records. The larger class consists of the notices left by sightseers in Egypt. For the most part they are the work of soldiers, and accurately dated. The famous statue of Memnon is covered with such statements by those who heard what they supposed to be its voice. Usually we have the man's name and rank, the date and a simple statement like *audi Memnonem*, as in C. I. L. III, 36, of 84 A. D., *Sex(tus) Licinius Pudens (centurio) leg(ionis) XXII, | XI K(alendas) I(anuarias) anno (quarto) imp(eratoris) | Domitiani Caesaris Augusti | Germanici, audi Memnonem.*¹²⁷ Thrice, however, C. I. L. III, 47 (Büch. 227, 136 A. D.), 55 (Büch. 272, Hadrian-Severus), 45 (Büch. 880, 134 A. D.), the visitors are inspired to poetic efforts: the last-named poem runs:

horam cum primam cumque | horam sole secundam
prolata Oceano luminat | alma dies,
vox audita mihi est ter bene | Memnonia.

Similar notices of visits occur elsewhere in Egypt;¹²⁸ especially noteworthy is the following poem. cut on one of the Pyramids (C. I. L. III, 21, Büch. 270, 102-117 A. D.):

vidi pyramidas sine te, dulcissime frater,
et tibi quod potui lacrimas hic m[a]esta profudi
et nostri memorem luctus hanc sculpo querelam.
sit nomen Decimi [G]entia[n]i pyramide alta
pontificis comitisque tuis, Traiane, triumphis
lustra[que] sex intra censoris consulis exs[tet](?).

The other class comprises the *graffiti* on the walls of the barracks of the *vigiles* at Rome and Ostia. They preserve the notice of certain duties the men have performed, with pious ejaculations; like the other class, they are somewhat

stereotyped, but full and carefully dated. For example, C. I. L. VI, 3005, of 227 A. D., says: *Octavius Felix mil(es) coh(ortis) (septimae) | vigi(lum) Severianes c(enturiae) Maximi | sebaciaria feci Albino (iterum) | Maximo co(n)s(ulibus) mes(e) Octobr(i) | feliciter.*¹²⁹

All the other *graffiti* are very irregular in form and thought. The prose statements are a queer mixture, and show how perfectly casual these interesting personal expressions are. There are simple notices that the person named has been present, as C. I. L. IV, 3088, 1481, 3919, accounts of repairs to shoes, C. I. L. IV, 1711, 1712, amounts won at dice, C. I. L. IV, 2119, and even a laundry list, C. I. L. IV, 816 (cf. also IV, 1698, 6873). Greetings and wishes, the latter not always complimentary, are quite frequent;¹³⁰ in one case (C. I. L. XIII, 3139=1188, cf. IV, 1684) there is even a fragmentary letter preserved. The phrase ordinarily used in election notices, *oro vos facialis*, usually abbreviated, has been included above (p. 217) in the pseudo-autobiographic appeals from Pompeii, as it has no real personal force: but occasionally, as in C. I. L. IV, 423, *G(aium) Calventium | Sittium (duo)v(irum) i(ure) d(i-cundo): | ego | Astylus sum* (see also 2975, 3712, 6625, 6678, 6902), the recommendations do take on a personal tone. Finally, once in a tomb a dialogue is given between the dead and the living (C. I. L. X, 2641).

The poetry found is for the most part erotic. Some lines are repeated several times, as C. I. L. IV, 1520 (Büch. 354), parts of which are found in 1523, 1526, 1528, 3040:

*Candida me docuit nigras | odisse puellas.
odero, s[1] potero, sed non, invitus | amabo.*¹³¹

Ovid, Amor. 3, 11, 35.

Occasionally some idler airs his personal opinions in the form of a *sententia*. Such is C. I. L. IV, 1880 (Büch.

933), *L(uci) Istacidi. at quem non ceno barbarus ille mihi est.* (See also 4971, Büch. 935; 5112, Büch. 1491.)

The Romans, as already known from the literature, possessed the autobiographic feeling in an unusual degree. This is manifested in the inscriptions earlier than in any known literary autobiography. In the inscriptions, moreover, it is exhibited with the widest possible latitude, but it finds fullest expression among the lower orders of society. In the religious dedications and the sepulchral inscriptions, which are dedicatory in form, the conventions always present in epigraphic types and religious conservatism tend to restrict the expression of autobiographic feeling, resulting in a variation between personal and impersonal expressions and the development of an autobiographic formula. Yet, especially among the unlettered, the feeling breaks through artificial barriers. When the lower classes wish to employ autobiographic elements, they find themselves capable of only a few commonplace ideas, and apply to the professional stone-cutters and poetasters for the literary forms, which thus tend to become stereotyped: but in many cases the expressions used are quite individual. Thus in numerous inscriptions the autobiographic feeling is present, though frequently curbed; and, from the Monumentum Ancyranum to the hasty scrawls of idlers, it forms a characteristic and interesting element of the Roman epigraphic records.

APPENDIX A.

1. See West, *Roman Autobiography*, particularly Augustine's *Confessions*, 1901. Misch, *Geschichte der Autobiographie*, Erster Band: *Das Altertum*, Leipzig, 1907, is inclined to make autobiography a Hellenistic product, despite the lack of evidence. See especially, pp. 105, 118, 121, 122, 124.

2. Peck, *The Personal Element in Roman Epitaphs*, A. J. A. Second Series, vol. 7, (1903), pp. 88-9. Misch, *op. cit.*, p. 108, note 2, mentions the need of a special treatment of inscriptions.

3. 39 certain examples in Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*.

4. Other examples are:

1) C. I. L. IV, 1635, 1805, 1904 = 2461 = 2487 (Bücheler, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* 957), 2167, 2373, 3882, 4562, 5195, 6697, from Pompeii; C. I. L. III, 11411, Steinamanger (ancient Savaria), V, Suppl. Ital. 417 (Büch. 922), Concordia, XI, 6690^a, Roncopascolo.

2) C. I. L. IV, 1074, 1121, 1322, 1937, 2310 k = Aen. 9, 404, 1645 (Büch. 953), 1781, from Pompeii; C. I. L. III, 13541, St. Pölten, XIV, 3696, Tivoli; Acad. Inscript. et Belles-Lett. *Comptes-Rendus*, 1903, p. 344, El-Mergeb, Africa; Bull. Crist. Fourth Series, vol. 3 (1884-5), p. 54, Krasrîn (ancient Cillium); Büch. 1798, Rome.

3) C. I. L. IV, 1597 = 1766 (Büch. 38), 1791, 3061, 5296 (Büch. 950), 6892.

5. C. I. L. II, 4969^a, VIII, 22644^a, IX, 6081¹, X, 8053⁵, XI, 6699^a, XIII, 10001^{5, 6}, XV, 6196-8, 6200, 6201; Suppl. Ital. 1079^{48a, b}.

6. C. I. L. VIII, 22634³, XI, 6710¹⁷, XII, 5687^{34, 46}, XIII, 10001¹², various numbers under 10018, 10024; XV, 6210, 6220; Bull. Crist. vol. 1 (1863), pp. 31, 33 ff.; Bull. Arch. 1907, p. cccii, also p. 289, no. 6.

7. C. I. L. III, 6009², 12013³ (with a *sententia*), X, 8056⁴, various numbers under XIII, 10018; cf. XIII, 10024¹⁸⁴, on a ring.

8. C. I. L. III, 6009¹, XII, 5687^{8a}, XIII, various numbers under 10012, 10013, 10018, 10025.

9. C. I. L. III, 6019¹², VII, 1306, XI, 6711⁸, 6716¹¹⁸, XII, 5692^a, 5693^{8b, 9}, 5698¹⁸, XIII, various numbers under 10024, 10027.

10. Pagan: C. I. L. IV, 3442, 3494, 4123 a, 4133, VI, 10205 b, VIII, 8509 (Büch. 883), 10889, 21510 (Büch. 295), X, 878, 880, XIV, 2028.

Christian: C. I. L. XIII, 3062; Bull. Crist. Fourth Series, vol. 1 (1882), plates III-VI; Comptes-Rendus, 1900, pp. 48-9.

On an inscription (IX, 2689) an entire dialogue is given illustrating a relief below.

11. C. I. L. III, 2673 (Ps. 42, 1), VIII, 11133 (cf. 2 Cor. 12, 2-3), 11269 (Ps. 39, 12), XI, 257 a (Ps. 23, 2), 261 (John 14, 6), 276 g (Ps. 68, 28-9).

Similar quotations are found on a ring, C. I. L. XII, 5692¹⁴ (Ps. 118, 16) and seals, Bull. Crist. Third Series, vol. 4 (1879), p. 165, *auget mi deus* and C. I. L. XIII, 10035² (Ps. 116, 13); cf. Bull. Crist. Fifth Series, vol. 4 (1893-4), pp. 97-9.

12. Here may be noted other single words on various objects, as C. I. L. VII, 1338^a, *dedico*, IX, 6090¹, *peredi*, XI, 6712⁴⁹⁷, *utor*, XII, 5690^{18a}, *vincamus*, XV, 6234, *lugeo*; Eph. Epigr. vol. 7, p. 346, no. 1150, *ibimus*.

13. Other examples are: C. I. L. VI, 7574 (Büch. 1490), 15258 (Büch. 1499), 19055 (Büch. 495), 25580 (Büch. 94), 27788 (Büch. 1488), VII, 759 (Büch. 24), VIII, 20758 (Büch. 518), IX, 3128 (Büch. 184), XI, 3273 (recent?).

14. Cf. also C. I. L. VIII, 10694 and 18669, 10705, 10905, 11643.

15. C. I. L. VIII, 2218 and X, 15 (Rom. 8, 31), 8622 (Ps. 12, 4), 8623-4 (Ps. 30, 2), 8625 (Ps. 116, 13), 17610 (cf. Rom. 8, 31), 18742 (Hebr. 13, 6, Ps. 118, 6); Inscr. Christ. II, 1, p. 424, no. 45 (Ps. 26, 8); Kraus 72 (1 Kings 12, 23); Inscr. Hisp. Christ. 95 and inscriptions cited in Rev. Arch. Second Series, vol. 2 (1860), p. 40 (Job 19, 25-6); Comptes-Rendus, 1907, p. x (Ps. 32, 11, 56, 41).

16. See also C. I. L. V, 6723 (Büch. 704), VI, 23090, XIV, 2566; Inscr. Christ. II, 1, p. 32, no. 77 (Büch. 306),

p. 64, no. 15, p. 71, no. 42, p. 83, no. 26 (Büch. 787), p. 108, no. 59, p. 274, nos. 4 and 4a, p. 275, nos. 8-10, p. 279, no. 1.

17. C. I. L. VI, 459, 598, 605, 623, 1833 a, 1967, 7299, etc.; XII, 3050-3056, 3063-6, 3081.

18. On the general subject of Imperial titles, especially the earliest appearance of *dominus*, see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* II*, p. 760 ff., Christoph Schoener, *Ueber die Titulaturen der römischen Kaiser*, in *Acta Seminarii Philologici Erlangensis*, vol. 2 (1881), p. 449 ff.

19. Cf. Schoener, *l. c.*

20. As C. I. L. VI, 1665, X, 6850, XV, 1663-1671, 1673-5; *Inscr. Hisp. Christ.* 76, 573 A. D., 155, 587 A. D.

21. C. I. L. XII, 4312, 5341-5, XIII, 1108, 1487, 1511, 1513, 1529, 1532-3.

22. C. I. L. III, 12030¹, VI, 1200, VIII, 10529; VIII, 10681.

23. In late times one instance of *d n* with *Papa n* occurs at Ravenna (C. I. L. XI, 285, 570-578 A. D.). This phrase is of course common as referring to God and Christ, as are also *deus noster* and *salvator noster*.

24. C. I. L. III, 12043, 12044 = 13569, 12133, all of Constantine, 459 = 14199², of Julian, 362 A. D.

25. C. I. L. III, 6998, Hadrian, VI, 10233, 211 A. D., 10239, 10245, 10247, 252 A. D., 14027, VIII, 9052, ca. 235 A. D., IX, 449, X, 114, 7457, 175 A. D., XI, 6520, Trajan; *Not. d. Scav.* 1894, p. 20 ff., Ant. Pius; cf. C. I. L. X, 6419, a Christian document.

The will of L. Dasumius Tuscus (VI, 10229, 108 A. D.) occurs alone, properly labeled, also a fragmentary will of about the time of Trajan (C. I. L. XIII, 5708).

26. See also C. I. L. I, 1008 = VI, 25369 (Büch. 59), IV, 5007 (= 3299, 3300), V, 4905 (Büch. 982), 5870 (Büch. 807), 7047, VI, 10220, 25861, X, 5099 (Büch. 1480); *Rev. Arch.* Third Series, vol. 39 (1901), p. 448, no. 115; cf. C. I. L. X, 2752 (Büch. 1053).

27. C. I. L. XV, 5925-6, 5928, 5930, 6122, 6158, 6159; XIV, 4184 a, Nemi.

28. C. I. G. 8337, on a lecythus, 32, on a bronze basin, both from Cumae; I. G. A. 526, a patera, provenience un-

known. Similar inscriptions on many small objects are found all over the Greek world, some dating from as early as the 7th century.

29. See Helbig, *Führer, Zweite Auflage* (1899), pp. 432, 437.

30. C. I. L. IV, 2776, X, 8055^{14, 58}, from Pompeii; III, 6009⁸, Vienna Museum, 12642, Dacia; XIII, 10016⁴, various numbers under 10018, XV, 4542 = XII, p. 843. Cf. inscr. on bronze tessera in *Rev. Arch. Fourth Series*, vol. 9 (1907), p. 360, no. 108, Trêves.

31. C. I. L. V, 7781 (Büch. 893, ca. 353 A. D.), X, 7017 (Kaibel, Ep. 599, 3d-4th cent.), III, 737 (Büch. 286, 390 A. D.), 6306 = 8153 (Büch. 273, Alex. Severus), III, 5317, end 2d cent. Cf. also *Inscr. Christ.* II, 1, p. 274, no. 4b.

32. C. I. L. VI, 520 (Kaibel, Ep. 816, Büch. 1528), 3708 (Büch. 193, 'best period'), 31051 (Büch. 269, 'poor letters').

33. C. I. L. I, 1007 = VI, 15346 (Büch. 52, Gracchi), 1306 = IX, 4933 (Büch. 54, ca. Sulla), V, 8974 (Büch. 214), VIII, 5370 (Büch. 112).

34. C. I. L. VI, 18086 (commatic, Büch. 1581), 28695 (Büch. 1145), 36537, 2d cent., X, 4352, ca. Augustus.

35. Cf. for prose inscriptions C. I. G. 8, 39, C. I. A. I, 466, 475, I. G. A. 132, 336, 358, 378, 387, 408, 446-7, 449, 540, Kirch.⁴ 33, Roberts, 163 a, and especially I. G. A. 528, 536, from the Chalcidian colonies: and for poetic inscriptions, Kaibel, Ep. 11, 19, 86, 181, 188, 472, sepulchral; 739, 752, 756, 778, 843, 858, 926, 1097, dedications.

36. C. I. L. III, 423 (Büch. 1168), 13656, Flavians?, 14179, Ant. Pius, 14184⁹, after Caracalla, 14188, 4th cent.

37. C. I. L. III, 1617, 5th cent., 4293, 3d cent., 10453, 3d cent.; *Rev. Arch. Third Series*, vol. 14 (1889), p. 169, no. 116, late Chr.

In a Roman inscription of the 5th-6th cent. we have *ego Deusdet . . . botum fecit* (*Bull. Crist. Second Series*, vol. 1 (1870), p. 33 ff.).

38. Other examples are C. I. L. V, 6506, VI, 19, 3d cent., XIV, 2850, Antonines.

39. The others are C. I. L. VII, 80, on a silver plate, VIII, 620 = 11796, 21567, 174 A. D., XIII, 5042 ('letters not good').

40. Compare remarks of Tolkiehn, *Die inschriftliche Poesie der Römer*, in *Neue Jahrb. f. Klass. Alt. u. Paed.* vol. 7 (1901), pp. 169, 170.

41. The following are among the more interesting dedicatory poems containing autobiographic elements: C. I. L. V, 5049 (Büch. 417, 1st cent.), 6876 (Büch. 873), VI, 312 (Büch. 868, consul of 193, 204 A. D.), 316 (Büch. 869, 3d-4th cent.), VIII, 2662 (Büch. 252, ca. 226 A. D.), IX, 3375 (Büch. 250, 156 A. D.), X, 3336 (Kaibel, Ep. 838, 238-244 A. D.), 3796 (Büch. 256, 4th cent.), XI, 5262 (Büch. *1800, ca. Hadrian), XII, 103 (Büch. 19, end 2d cent.), 2926 (Büch. 863, beg. 1st cent.), XIII, 581 (Büch. 871), 7661 (Büch. 850, Kaibel, I. G. I. 2562), XIV, 1 (Büch. 251, consul II, 216 A. D.), 2852 (Büch. 249, 136 A. D.).

42. Cf. *Inscr. Christ.* II, 1, p. 102, no. 25, p. 136, no. 11, with the Damasan poem on p. 190, no. 3; note also p. 64, no. 12, and p. 134, no. 5, Damasan, p. 110, no. 67 (Büch. 912, 432-440 A. D.), and *Bull. Crist., Fourth Series*, vol. 3 (1884-5), pp. 30, 31.

43. C. I. L. I, 818 (= VI, 140), VIII, 12505, Carthage, X, 3824, Capua, 8249, near Minturnae, XIII, 7550, Kreuznach, 7554, 7555, II, III, Worms Museum; *Rev. Arch. Third Series*, vol. 41 (1902), p. 348, no. 57, Hadrumetum, vol. 35 (1899), p. 191, no. 105, Carthage, vol. 39 (1901), p. 468 ff., nos. 183-4, Mentana, vol. 25 (1894), p. 388, no. 113, Cumae; *Eph. Epigr.* vol. 8, p. 58, no. 238 (doubtful).

44. Other examples are: C. I. L. VIII, 12504, Carthage, cf. 12508-12511, similar Greek; *Rev. Arch. Third Series*, vol. 21 (1893), p. 258, no. 27, *Fourth Series*, vol. 9 (1907), p. 352, no. 68, Hadrumetum.

45. This is the theory of Wachsmuth, in *Rhein. Mus.* vol. 18 (1863), p. 566, where on the preceding pages he collected the Greek and Latin instances then known; see also Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, vol. II, 1, 257-9. Our earliest example, cited on p. 229, bears this out completely.

46. *Rev. Arch. Third Series*, vol. 16 (1890), p. 449, no. 158, *Fourth Series*, vol. 2 (1903), p. 175, no. 210.

47. Ann. Inst. 1846, pp. 214-217, Sitzb. bayer. Akad. 1870, vol. I, p. 522 ff.; see also Bull. Crist., vol. 7 (1869), p. 61. The date is the fourth or early fifth century.

48. See Roscher, 2317, C. I. L. VI, p. 2900. The extent to which the *dis manibus* form was used is best given by Huebner, Müller's Handbuch, vol. I, pp. 687-9.

49. See C. I. L. I, 1063, 1065 = VI, 5639, 1024 = VI, 11452, VI, 27903, 33423.

50. *E. g.* C. I. L. VIII, 21801, after 419 A. D., XI, 3238, 400 or 405 A. D., XII, 1497, 470 A. D., XIII, 3033, ca. 400 A. D.?, 3052, do.

51. The proportion, excluding Christian inscriptions, is approximately two to one.

Notice similar variations in Greek inscriptions, as C. I. L. III, 14179, Antonines, VI, 7705, after Flavians, 10091, Severus.

52. I have noticed only C. I. L. VI, 2496 = 32650, 28063, IX, 5478, 2d cent., XIII, 1880, after 87 A. D.; cf. XIII, 3691 = Kraus 96, 4th cent.

53. *E. g.* C. I. L. V, 8734, 8736, 8772, all of beg. 5th cent., Inscr. Christ. I, 584, 408 A. D.

In VI, 2705, XII, 5385, *militavi* similarly occurs for *militavit*.

Corresponding Greek forms are found in the Cemetery of Priscilla; see Bull. Crist. Fifth Series, vol. 3 (1892), p. 79, no. 330.

54. As C. I. L. III, 10232-3, 4th cent.; V, 1685 and 8587, of the same man, 4th cent. The other instances, exclusive of those cited in 55, are: C. I. L. V, 1691, 6207, VI, 3405, 3d cent., 31984, 35868, 4th cent.?, VIII, 20718, IX, 2081, X, 7173, XI, 3756, beg. 4th cent., XIII, 7643; Inscr. Christ. I, 221, 371 A. D., 883, 483 A. D.; Nuovo Bull. Crist. vol. 10 (1904), p. 83, no. 5, 380 A. D., p. 106, 4th cent.; Bull. Arch. 1901, p. cccxxvi.

55. C. I. L. V, 8765, 8988 c, Not. d. Scav. 1886, p. 110, 1890, p. 171, all of beg. 5th cent.

56. C. I. L. III, 4938, 3d cent.?, V, 3395, 5678, XIII, 1844, 2d cent., are *mihi carissima*; others are C. I. L. II, 5677, VI, 9375, 10281, 13293, Aurelius or Caracalla-Elagabalus, 16613 (=XI, 6142, Büch. 165), 20116, ca. 98

A. D., 21848, 22084, X, 2956, XIII, 1897 (ca. 2d cent.), 1920, 2238; *Inscr. Christ.* I, 53, 339 A. D., 134, 358 A. D., 411, 393 A. D., 425, 395 A. D.; *Bull. Crist.* vol. 1 (1863), p. 82.

57. Cf. with C. I. L. VI, 5767, 12871, 20450, 26467 a, 29054, C. I. L. VI, 15126; with XIII, 2087 (end 2d cent.), XIII, 2205 ('good letters'). In VI, 22848 the person is uncertain, owing to abbreviations.

58. Note C. I. L. V, 6388, VI, 8628, Domitian, 9438, ca. Augustus, 19100, 20153, ca. Augustus, 25184, 27257 (*Büch.* 162).

59. There are portions of similar phrases in C. I. L. VI, 17408, 19000, 19883, 27196, X, 8192, Augustan?.

60. See C. I. L. V, 4927, VI, 8054, ca. Tiberius, 24938, 26891, 27866, X, 168, XII, 729, XIV, 2841; III, 14855, IX, 384 and X, 8189 are later.

61. Such are C. I. L. III, 9451, V, 4582, 4927, VI, 8054, 22066, 24938, 26891, 27866, X, 168 and XII, 729, III, 14855, IX, 384 and X, 8189, X, 1760, V, 3627 and X, 5745 (*Büch.* 176), XIV, 2841, *Not. d. Scav.* 1891, p. 97 = 1894, p. 252.

62. See also C. I. L. V, 1997, 4370, 4th cent., VIII, 9164; cf. the Greek in XI, 3030, and the greeting in VI, 10268, 3d-4th cent.

63. This seems to have been a favorite military form: C. I. L. III, 5949, 4th cent., 5957, after 166-170 A. D., 6131 = 7454, 11076, 13373; C. I. L. III, 11049, 11050, 3d cent., VI, 13891 = 10654, *Not. d. Scav.* 1902, p. 383, are non-military. Cf. for other like phrases C. I. L. III, 4263, VIII, 7384, XIII, 8100, XIV, 2348.

64. Cf. also C. I. L. VIII, 9473 (*Büch.* 1153) and 21349 (frag.), both from ancient Caesarea; VIII, 5834 and 5804 (*Büch.* 635-6), corruptions of a common source, both from ancient Sigus.

65. C. I. L. VIII, 9713 a, b, 9751-2, 21635, 21637, 21639, 21642, 21645, 21675, *Bull. Arch.* 1899, p. 459, no. 10; note, however, *Inscr. Christ.* II, 1, p. 444, no. 185, from Rome.

66. Cf. also *Bull. Crist.* Fifth Series, vol. 1 (1890), p. 144, vol. 4 (1893-4), p. 145. Similar Gk. in *Nuovo Bull.*

Crist., vol. 7 (1901), p. 270. Note also Bull. Crist. Fourth Series, vol. 4 (1886), p. 106, no. 167, Fifth Series, vol. 3 (1892), p. 114, no. 31; Comptes-Rendus, 1907, p. xv, Dougga. In Bull. Arch. 1907, p. CCXLIII, we have a Christian inscr. of 4th-5th cent. from Africa, quoting Aen. 11, 97-8.

67. See Bull. Crist. Second Series, vol. 6 (1875), pp. 28-30. Note, however, an example of beg. 4th cent. in Bull. Crist. Fifth Series, vol. 4 (1893-4), p. 58 = Not. d. Scav. 1893, p. 119; and Bull. Arch. 1907, pp. CCLXV-VI, Dougga.

68. See C. I. L. VI, 13484, 16395, X, 2766, 4294; VI, 7474, 8450 a, Tib.-Claud., 19316; VI, 24598, 33846, 14823, X, 2878; VI, 8456, Trajan, 29383, 35595, XIV, 1452; VI, 18104, X, 3037, Not. d. Scav. 1899, p. 148, Sulmona, frag.; VI, 8489, 9258, 21699, 22484, 25796 = 34164, 1st cent., 34794, XIV, 3323, 4th cent.

69. *E. g.* C. I. L. VI, 1825, 9485, 10219, bef. Caracalla, 13785, 15080, 17618, 19915, 21925, Titus or later, 22208, 26940. *veto* precedes in 17549.

70. C. I. L. VI, 21096, 27977, XIV, 1644; a similar phrase in 13040, Aurelius and Verus; doubtful abbreviations in X, 2275, 2614.

71. See also C. I. L. V, 8738; Bull. Crist. Second Series, vol. 5 (1874), p. 137 ff.

72. In C. I. L. VI, 10173 and 19882, cited on p. 237, a more personal form occurs, also in III, 2098, from Saloniae.

73. See C. I. L. VI, 5886, 12802, early Empire, 13927, 18281, XII, 4725, 1st cent., XIV, 2535.

74. See C. I. L. III, 3403 and VI, 10458, 36467, IX, 5813; also XI, 322, 325, a like Chr. form later than the 6th cent.

75. As in C. I. L. II, 369, 540, 1229, 1699, 1728, 1853, 2567 and 5241 (Büch. 1452), 3186, 3296, VI, 17768 (cf. Büch. 1456), VIII, 4504 = 18642, Lambaesis; Eph. Epigr. vol. 8, p. 386, no. 90, Spain, partly abbreviated. Cf. Büch. 1452-6. A fuller form from Lambaesis is found in C. I. L. VIII, 3727, 4120 (Büch. 133, 3d cent.).

76. See also C. I. L. II, 958, 1099, 1752, 1837, 2854, 5419, VIII, 9496 (Büch. 1455), Suppl. Ital. 995.

77. See C. I. L. X, 3312, 6th cent.?, 4525 and 4530, 7th cent. or later, XI, 324, after 6th cent., XIII, 3511 and

3515, end of 7th cent., XIV, 3420, 542-565 A. D.; Nuovo Bull. Crist. vol. 4 (1898), p. 175; Comptes-Rendus, 1908, pp. 140-141, Malta, 5th cent.

78. As C. I. L. III, 8177, after Trajan, VI, 11938, 16043, XI, 1483, XIV, 1169; cf., however, VI, 21848. A similar phrase occurs in VIII, 9069, of 320 A. D.

79. As in C. I. L. II, 1434, V, 1939 = XI, 6545, com-matic (Büch. 1585), VI, 9258, X, 2070, XIII, 530, 2d cent.; Rev. Arch. vol. 19 (1892), p. 295, no. 15, African. An abbreviated form in C. I. L. V, 2893. See Büch. 247 and Kaibel, Ep. 1117a.

80. C. I. L. VI, 25617 (Büch. 965, 10 A. D.), VIII, 15716 (Büch. 966, 3d cent.); VI, 7872 and 23551 = X, 6620 (Büch. 971, 970, ca. Augustus); II, 391 (Büch. 485), VIII, 21032 (Büch. 486), XI, 5074 (Büch. 803, Antonines or later), VI, 30607² (Büch. 1081); III, 13809 = 14217¹ (Büch. 859, Viminacium, 3d cent.), 14165¹, Baalbek, late 3d cent.; VI, 3452 and 3608 (Büch. 475-6); VI, 6467 (Büch. 130, ca. 50 A. D.), IX, 4816 (Büch. 129, ca. 90 A. D.); Büch. 730 and ref.

81. C. I. L. V, 4656, 7047, 6842 (Büch. 1091-3), cf. 2986, frag. and VI, 30111 (Büch. 1094); VI, 11743 (Büch. 1498, ca. end 2d cent.) and Mélanges, vol. 25 (1905), p. 72 ff., cf. C. I. L. IX, 4756 (Büch. 409), XI, 6435 (Büch. 434); VI, 17056 (Büch. 1085, middle 1st cent.) and 19175 (Büch. 1086): V, 7404 and XI, 911 (Büch. 1180, 1181), see p. 234; Eph. Epigr. vol. 8, p. 380, no. 80, Illipula in Spain, 1st cent.?, and C. I. L. XI, 3963 (Büch. 591, Capena); X, 4428 and 5020 (Büch. 1083-4).

82. C. I. L. V. Suppl. It. 1305 (Büch. 1539), VI, 28523 (Büch. 1540), 30118 (Büch. 1541), Not. d. Scav. 1885, p. 496 (Büch. 1542). The last incorporates a *sententia* from VI, 7574 (Büch. 1490).

83. C. I. L. VI, 25617 and VIII, 15716, VI, 6467 and IX, 4816, as cited in 80. So De Rossi, Inscr. Christ. II, 1, pp. xxx-xxxi, thinks two Christian poems are copied from a longer one.

Another interesting example of a poem changed to suit a location is C. I. L. IX, 1817 (Büch. 1055), appearing also in X, 1152 (Büch. 1056).

84. As in C. I. L. III, 2382, 14184^o, after Caracalla, VI, 3604; III, 1926, VI, 18107 b, IX, 1826.

85. As in C. I. L. VI, 15106, 29580, IX, 2437, Chr., 553 A. D., XI, 1057, 1800, Chr., 4th cent.; Bull. Crist. vol. 2 (1864), p. 34, Chr., 4th cent.

86. As in C. I. L. VI, 15696, IX, 1088, 3d cent., XI, 6417 and 6424, both from ancient Pisaurum.

87. On this general subject see Fr. Vollmer, *Laudationum funebrium Romanarum historia et reliquiarum editio*, Jahr. Class. Phil. Suppl. 18 (1892), pp. 445-528^o. Cf. an article by the same author, *De funere publico Romanorum*, Jahr. Class. Phil. Suppl. 19 (1893), pp. 319-364.

88. As in C. I. L. III, 3355, 3d cent., VI, 2960, 8467, Titus, 9792, beg. 3d cent., 25855, XIII, 1897, ca. 2d cent., 3720, XIV, 2485.

89. See also C. I. L. VI, 7652, 20905 a, 27458; cf. 15454 and the late Christian examples, X, 761, 4539, *Nuovo Bull. Crist.*, vol. 15 (1909), pp. 141-3.

90. See also C. I. L. III, 13124, 426 or 430 A. D., V, 5415, 6th cent., VI, 9274, X, 1971, 3030, 4053, XI, 330, after 6th cent.

91. As in C. I. L. V, 7465, 180 A. D., VI, 4870, 8534 b, 10558, 1st cent.?, 25512, XIII, 1972, 3d cent.; VI, 18659 is similar, though not personal.

92. C. I. L. II, 1276, III, 707, 7526, 14493, V, 4440, 4488, Constantine, 7454, VI, 9626, VIII, 18629, IX, 1670, XI, 2596, XII, 1657, 3861; *Not. d. Scav.* 1899, p. 148, Sulmona.

93. See also C. I. L. I, 1049 = VI, 16606, ca. 100 B. C., VI, 1819, 25175, 25987, 35793, end Rep., XIII, 8486, Christian.

94. See also C. I. L. II, 3181, V, 5933, VI, 27365, 29129, XIII, 1983, 3d cent.; *Jahresh. des Oesterr. Arch. Inst. Beiblatt*, vol. 9 (1906), pp. 17-18, Grado, 5th cent. Christian.

95. See also C. I. L. III, 7584, V, 5701, VI, 9460, 10213, ref. to Sejanus, 11252, 3d-4th cent., 16803, ca. end 2d cent.

96. See also C. I. L. VI, 11252, 3d-4th cent., VIII, 79, 868, 5749 = 19146, 10927, Chr., 360 A. D., X, 777, XII, 5193, XIII, 3448, Chr.

97. See also C. I. L. VIII, 15569 (Büch. 525, late), XIV, 3415 (Büch. 746, 4th-5th cent.); Inscr. Christ. I, 464 (Büch. 678, 398 A. D.), II, 1, p. 83, no. 23 (Büch. 1382, 555 A. D.), p. 104, no. 38, p. 130, no. 15, 523 A. D.; Rev. Arch. Third Series, vol. 32 (1898), p. 459, no. 37, Africa.

98. As in C. I. L. III, 4487 = 11095 (Büch. 1121), VIII, 9473 (Büch. 1153), X, 7426 (Büch. 1315); cf. also VI, 18149 (Büch. 1217).

99. As in C. I. L. VI, 6986 (Büch. 1034, Antonines), 12307 (Büch. 1050, end 1st cent.), 16709 (Büch. 178), IX, 1921 (Büch. 1487), X, 5495 (Büch. 376), XI, 5784 (Büch. 1794).

100. Others of these elaborate productions are: C. I. L. III, 686 (Büch. 1233, 3d cent.), 754 = 7436 (Büch. 492, 2d cent.), 3397 (Büch. 555, 4th cent.?), VI, 6976 (Büch. 1033, Antonines), 9118 (Büch. 467), 9693 (Büch. 1136), 10226 (Büch. 1119, 1st cent.), 18385 (Büch. 1184, Ant. Pius), 19175 (Büch. 1086), 20674 (Büch. 436), 21521 (Büch. 1109, Flavians), 22377 (Büch. 1040), 24520 (Büch. 1057, 'fine letters'), 25063 (Büch. 1549), VIII, 11597 (Büch. 1515), 12792 (Büch. 1187, end 1st-beg. 2d cent.), IX, 3279 (Büch. 1183), X, 2496 (Büch. 613), 4041 (Büch. 1075), XI, 3771 (Büch. 430), 4631 (Büch. 1846), 6080 (Büch. 1823), XII, 861 (Büch. 1192, 2d cent., see p. 284), XIII, 7813 (Büch. 794), 8371, 3d cent.; Inscr. Christ. II, 1, p. 68, no. 30 (Büch. 1404), p. 93, no. 65 (Büch. 1403); Rev. Arch. Fourth Series, vol. 11 (1908), p. 320, no. 15, Ammaedara.

101. As C. I. L. V, 4593 (Büch. 1042), XI, 5927 (Büch. 1102), 6551 (Büch. 1088); II, 1504 (Büch. 1138), V, 5824 (Büch. 537), VI, 15546 (Büch. 493); VI, 7886 (Büch. 1143, ca. Domitian); VI, 19049 (Büch. 545), 23295 (Büch. 393); V, 5961 (Büch. 639, frag.), XIII, 7113 (Büch. 216).

102. As C. I. L. VI, 8401 (Büch. 1388, 578 A. D.), 31937-8 (Büch. 707, 534 A. D.), 32031 (Büch. 1370, 525 A. D.), 32038 (Büch. 1375, 533 A. D.), XIII, 2352, 472 A. D.; Inscr. Christ. I, 329 (Büch. 670, 383 A. D.), 677 (Büch. 708, 539 A. D.), II, 1, p. 83, no. 23 (Büch. 1382,

555 A. D.), p. 87, no. 31 (Büch. 737, cf. Bull. Crist. Third Series, vol. 6 (1881), p. 16), p. 106, no. 50 (Büch. 1431), p. 130, no. 15, 523 A. D.; Inscr. Hisp. Christ. 34 a (Büch. 1380, 549 A. D.); Bull. Crist., vol. 1 (1863), p. 43, 418-420 A. D.

103. See also C. I. L. VI, 32014 (Büch. 1373, 530-3 A. D.), X, 1338 (Büch. 661, 359 A. D.), 4494 (Büch. 1360, 489 A. D.), XII, 5350 (Büch. 1443, 5th-6th cent.); Inscr. Christ. I, 479 (Büch. 679, 399 A. D.), 1179 (Büch. 1401, after middle 6th cent.), II, 1, p. 104, no. 42 (Damasus to his sister), p. 115, no. 85 (Büch. 1408), p. 118, no. 103 (Büch. 755).

104. See also C. I. L. III, 3576 (Büch. 620), 6380 (Büch. 1267), 6744 (Büch. 418), 8160 (Büch. 566), V, 6811 (Büch. 137), VI, 7873 (Büch. 1022, Augustan), 9449 (Büch. 994, Aug.-Tib.), 10078 = 33940 (Büch. 399), 11434 (Büch. 1022), 12056 (Büch. 1026), 21674 (commatic, Büch. 1579), 22513 (Büch. 1269, ca. Augustus?), 28228 (Büch. 1054, Aug.-Tib.?), 28661 (Büch. 1792), VIII, 3506 (Büch. 1236), 11613 (Büch. 1284), IX, 2991 (Büch. 642), 3622 (Büch. 381), X, 4917 (Büch. 1015), 5106 (Büch. 384); Comptes-Rendus, 1908, p. 496, Narbonne.

105. See C. I. L. I, 1194 = X, 6009 (Büch. 56, ca. Caesar), VI, 1372 (Büch. 426, beg. 2d cent.), 1417 (Büch. 106, ca. 271 A. D.), 1692 (Büch. 892 ca. 352 A. D.; cf. 1693, Büch. 325), 31711 (Büch. 1306).

106. A fairly complete list is: C. I. L. II, 1399 (Büch. 1140), III, 423 (Büch. 1168), 3572 (Büch. 558, 3d cent.), 3676 (Büch. 427, Hadrian), 6384 (Büch. 1206), 9106 (Büch. 1156), V, 938 (Büch. 372), 1071 (Büch. 66), 2931 (Büch. 996, Tiberius), VI, 5254 (Büch. 86, Tiberius), 5534 (Büch. 1035), 5953 (Büch. 1068, Tiberius?), 6593 (Büch. 1030, Aug.-Tib.), 7578 (Büch. 422, 126 A. D.), 7872 (Büch. 971, Augustus; note interpolated verses), 7898 (Büch. 1058), 8012 (Büch. 134, Tiberius), 8991 (Büch. 101, Hadrian), 9199 a (Büch. 1080), 9447 (Büch. 1012), 9604 (Büch. 1253, mid. 2d cent.), 9632 = 33813 (Büch. 89), 9797 (Büch. 29, 126 A. D.), 10006 (Büch. 1133), 12087 (Büch. 611), 12845 (Büch. 387), 13481

(Büch. 463), 14211 (Büch. 964, Caesar?), 16913 (Büch. 1185, Ant. Pius), 17106 (Büch. 1250), 17130 (Büch. 963, 12 B. C.), 19331 (Büch. 421), 19747 (Büch. 987, bef. 31-2 A. D.), 22251 (Büch. 1127, 1st cent.?), 22321 (Büch. 1220), 23135 (Büch. 1132), 25871 (Büch. 1219), 26544 (Büch. 1820), 27060 (Büch. 1161), 27852 (Büch. 1225), 28877 (Büch. 1036, 1st cent.), 29609 (Büch. 974), 33087 (commatic, Büch. 1563, Caesar), 33316 (Büch. 967, Augustan), 33395, 33903 (Büch. 1249), 35126, VIII, 7228 (Büch. 561), 7604 (commatic, Büch. 1613), 11824 (Büch. 1238, 3d cent.), 15987 (Büch. 1240), 16159 (Büch. 1554), 16463 (Büch. 514), 16566 (Büch. 1332), IX, 175 (commatic, Büch. 1572), 1880 (Büch. 100), 3122 (Büch. 1213), 4744 (Büch. 1211), 4756 = XI, 1488 (Büch. 409), 6417 (Büch. 1131), X, 5429 (Büch. 1144), XI, 117 (Büch. 102), 137 (commatic, Büch. 1580, Claudius), 531 (Büch. 1170), 654 (Büch. 491), 5836 (Büch. 1252), 6606 (Büch. 386), XIII, 2313 (Büch. 1277), 6823 (Büch. 407), 7105 (Büch. 1116), XIV, 316 (Büch. 1105), 510 (Büch. 1186, Ant. Pius?), 914 (Büch. 1318), 2298 (Büch. 990, 12-22 A. D., praise of patron Cotta by dead), 2553 (Büch. 1032, 1st cent.); Rev. Arch. Third Series, vol. 31 (1897), p. 147, no. 43, Carthage; Not. d. Scav. 1892, p. 190 (Büch. 646, Sardinia), 1898, p. 477, no. 14, Bologna, no name, 1900, p. 578, no. 35, Rome; A. J. A. Second Series, vol. 2 (1898), p. 396, no. 60, commatic, Cumae.

107. Besides others noted in following notes, see also C. I. L. II, 59 (Büch. 1553), 3256 (Büch. 1196, 1st cent.), 5907 (Büch. 1193, 2d cent.), III, 4483 (Büch. 1082, 6-63 or 80-98 A. D., stereotyped), 9733 (Büch. 77, 1st cent.), VI, 3608 (Büch. 475), 14578 = 34083 (Büch. 502), 21200 (Büch. 973, Augustus?), 25703 (Büch. 1537), VIII, 1027 = 12468 (Büch. 484, end 2d cent. or later), 20808 (Büch. 1830, 305 A. D.), 21179 (Büch. 429, 1st cent.?), IX, 60 (Büch. 1533, 1st cent.), 1764 (Büch. 76), 2128 (Büch. 83), 3071 (Büch. 1212), 3358 (Büch. 1125), XI, 6125 (Büch. 986).

108. Die Grabscrift des Dichters Pacuvius und des L. Maecius Philotimus, in Arch. Epigr. Mitth. vol. 17 (1894),

pp. 227-239. The discussions of Teuffel, *op. cit.* p. 169, and Bücheler, note on 53, were both written before this inscription was discovered.

109. As in C. I. L. II, 1088 (Büch. 541, beg. 3d cent.), 3475 (Büch. 980), III, 6416 (Büch. 82, bef. 42 A. D.), 9314 (Büch. 1205), VI, 7419 (Büch. 1016, Aug.-Tib.), 10097 (Büch. 1111, date variously given as Claudius, Flavians, Trajan), 10098 (Büch. 1110), 10493 (Büch. 1122, mid. 2d cent.), 10969 (Büch. 443), 29629 (Büch. 1067), 36202 (Büch. 1545), VIII, 9642 (commatic, Büch. 1603), 13134 (do., Büch. 1606, Hadrian-Ant. Pius), 21008 (cf. Büch. 1539-42), IX, 1527 (Büch. 73, 'ancient letters'), 1817 (Büch. 1055, cf. 1056), 4796 (Büch. 437), 4810 (Büch. 1305), X, 1152 (Büch. 1056, cf. 1055), 2311 (Büch. 420), 4915 (Büch. 1319), XI, 627 (Büch. 513), 6435 (Büch. 434), XII, 218 (Büch. 466), 533 Büch. 465, end 2d cent.), XIII, 2219 (Büch. 1198), 7070 (Büch. 1007, beg. 1st cent.), 7234 (Büch. 1005, 43 A. D.), 8355 Büch. 219), XIV, 2605 (Büch. 477).

110. As in C. I. L. II, 391 (Büch. 485), 1235 (Büch. 1316), 1821 (commatic, Büch. 1566, ca. Augustus), 4314 (Büch. 1279), III, 6475 = 10762 (Büch. 1310), V, 6128 (Büch. 473), VI, 1951 (Büch. 1256), 3452 (Büch. 476, cf. VI, 3608), 10627 (Büch. 109, mid. 2d cent.), 17985 a (Büch. 856, advice at end), 19007 (Büch. 562), 19683 (commatic, Büch. 1582, advice at end), 20370 = 34130 (Büch. 1544, Augustan), 23629 (Büch. 496, mid. 2d cent.), 26680 (Büch. 1173), 27140 (Büch. 1163), 35887 (Büch. 1532, cf. 29609), VIII, 1523 = 15539 (Büch. 1237, mid. 2d cent.), 7156 (Büch. 512, end 4th cent.), 21031 (Büch. 479), IX, 1164 (Büch. 97, end 1st cent.), 2272 (Büch. 1523, Hadrian-Antonines), 3473 (Büch. 186, late), 3895 (Büch. 90), 4922 (Büch. 62), X, 2503 (Büch. 1231, advice at end), 8131 (Büch. 428, Hadrian), XI, 1122 (Büch. 1273, advice at end), 1616 (Büch. 1190), 4311 (Büch. 457), XIV, 480 (Büch. 1255); Inscr. Christ. II, 1, p. 94, no. 67, 5th-6th cent.; Not. d. Scav. 1894, p. 144 (Büch. 857, Rome); Rev. Arch. Third Series, vol. 33 (1898), p. 337, Carthage.

111. See also C. I. L. VI, 31934, beg. 5th cent.?, XI, 466 (Büch. 505), XIII, 5657, 461 A. D.?, 482 A. D.?, Inscr. Christ. I, 882 (Büch. 693, 483 A. D.), II, 1, p. 107, no. 55 (Büch. 1354, 440-461 A. D.), p. 126, no. IIII, 498 A. D., p. 169, no. 24 (Büch. 1562); Inscr. Hisp. Christ. 12 (Büch. 718, 593 A. D.); Bull. Crist. vol. 2 (1864), p. 33 (Büch. 1423, ca. 5th cent.).

112. See also C. I. L. III, 9623 (Büch. 627), XI, 4164 (Büch. 713, 558 A. D.), XIII, 2414, 5th-6th cent.; Inscr. Christ. II, 1, p. 92, no. 57 (Büch. 673, Damasan), p. 273, no. 3 (Büch. 756); Bull. Crist. vol. 2 (1864), p. 55 (Büch. 761, beg. 4th cent.).

113. C. I. L. II, 562 (Kaibel, Ep. 704, Büch. 1197, Antonines, Gk. only personal), III, 423 (Kaibel, Ep. 298, Büch. 1168), VI, 6225 (Kaibel, Ep. 697 a, Büch. 811, beg. 1st cent.), 10971 (Kaibel, Ep. 680, Büch. 442, Gk. only personal), 14672 (Kaibel, Ep. 646, dated by him 3d-4th cent., by Huebner, Vesp.-Comm.), 16843 (Kaibel, Ep. 616, 2d cent.), 18175 (Kaibel, Ep. 619, ca. 2d cent.), 18487 (Kaibel, Ep. 556, 1st-2d cent.), 19954 (Kaibel, Ep. 572, 1st-2d cent.), 20548 (Kaibel, I. G. I. 1703, Titus), 26251 (Kaibel, Ep. 646 a), 32316 (Kaibel, Ep. 589), X, 1494 (Kaibel, Ep. 563, ca. 2d cent.), 1497 (Kaibel, Ep. 502, 2d cent.).

C. I. L. VI, 24042 (Kaibel, Ep. 551, 2d-3d cent.) is addressed to the dead.

114. As C. I. L. II, 558 (Büch. 1451), 5975 (Büch. 1457, 1st cent.), VI, 12951 (Büch. 1456), VIII, 13265 (Büch. 135); Not. d. Scav. 1889, p. 112 (Büch. 1463); Büch. 1458, cf. Ovid, Her. 7, 162; cf. C. I. L. VI, 24022, frag.

115. See also C. I. L. I, 1431 = V, 4111 (Büch. 119, late Rep.), III, 293 (Büch. 243, beg. Empire), 9302 (com-matic, Büch. 1588, 2d cent.), V, 3403 (Büch. 1004, stereo-typed), 4078 (Büch. 84), VI, 14618 (Büch. 1494), X, 5371 (Büch. 118), XI, 856 (Büch. 191).

116. See also C. I. L. V, 3415 (Büch. 1095), 5278 (Büch. 1274), VI, 6821 (Büch. 375, Augustus), 7193 a (Büch. 1247), 18209 (Büch. 1077), IX, 952 (Büch. 1340, 'best letters'), 2114 (Büch. 187, after Augustus), 4840

(Büch. 1496), XI, 207 (Büch. 507), XII, 5102 (Büch. 188, ca. Augustus).

117. See also C. I. L. I, 1019 = VI, 30105 (Büch. 68, late Rep.), III, 14850, VI, 1779 (Büch. 111, 384-5 A. D.), 19175 (Büch. 1086), VIII, 7255 (Büch. 560), XI, 1209 (Büch. 1550, Hadrian); Bull. Crist. Fourth Series, vol. 3 (1884-5), p. 72 ff. (Büch. 730); see Nuovo Bull. Crist. vol. 6 (1900), p. 339 ff.

118. See Büch. 108-9, Rome, 301, do., Chr., 436, Rome, 437, 661, Chr., 359 A. D., 669, Rome, Chr., 382 A. D., 676, do., 395 A. D., 708, do., 539 A. D., 744, Rome, Chr., 1550 B, ca. Hadrian, 1613-5, Africa, 1829, do., 1830, do., 315 A. D.; Rev. Arch. Third Series, vol. 32 (1898), p. 459, no. 37, Africa.

119. See also C. I. L. II, 391 (Büch. 485), VIII, 1027 (Büch. 484), 1359 (Büch. 521), XII, 861 (Büch. 1192, 2d cent., pt. stereotyped), 5811? (Büch. 1191, do.), XIV, 2605 (Büch. 477); so those of Damasus, as Inscr. Christ. I, 329 (Büch. 670); Inscr. Christ. II, 1, p. 83, no. 23 (Büch. 1382, 555 A. D.), p. 130, no. 15, 523 A. D.; Rev. Arch. Third Series, vol. 32 (1898), p. 459, no. 37, Africa; Büch. 1829, do.

120. C. I. L. V, 5278? (Büch. 1274), VI, 9447 (Büch. 1012), 9449 (Büch. 994), 9752 (Büch. 1555), 10097 (Büch. 1111), 13528 (Büch. 1559), 16843? (Kaibel, Ep. 616), 33904? (Büch. 1251, Severus-Gordian), 33976 (Kaibel, Ep. 618, Sulpicius), IX, 1164 (Büch. 97), XIII, 8355 (Büch. 219); Inscr. Christ. II, 1, p. 126, no. IIII?; probably C. I. L. VI, 1779 (Büch. 111), 21521 (Büch. 1109), VIII, 212-3 (Büch. 1552). XIII, 2352 was written by Sidonius Apollinaris for his grandfather's tomb (Ep. 3, 12).

121. C. I. L. II, 5063, statue, VI, 2273, buildings, etc., 8513, rebuilding monument, beg. 3d cent., VIII, 8209 = 19328, private buildings, 9585 = 20958 (Büch. 115, Chr., 3d cent.), 12035, towers, Chr., 590-600 A. D., X, 6656, baths at Antium, 379-382 A. D., XIV, 324, permit, 203 A. D., 4012, construction of road; Inscr. Christ. II, 1, p. 151, no. 23, roof, etc., Damasan, p. 449, no. 215, doorway.

122. See Peter, I, p. 453, Fairley, U. of P. Trans. and Repr. vol. V, no. 1 (1898); but cf. Schanz, Geschichte der röm. Lit., in Müller, vol. VIII, ii, 1 (1899), pp. 10-13, Misch, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

123. As Nos. III, 52 A. D.?, VI, 54 A. D., XVI, 55 A. D., XX, XXI and XXIII, 56 A. D., XXVIII, XXXII, and XXXIII, 57 A. D., XLV, uncertain, CXXXVIII, 53 A. D., CXXXIX, uncertain, CXLI and CXLII, 58 A. D., CXLIII, 59 A. D., CXLIV, 60 A. D., CXLV and CXLVI, 58 A. D., CXLVII, 59 A. D., CLI, 62 A. D.

124. As Nos. VII, 54 A. D., XVII, 55 A. D., XXII, XXIV, XXV and XXVII, 56 A. D., XXX, XXXV and XL, 57 A. D., XLVI, 56 A. D. On these forms see C. I. L. IV, p. 421.

125. As C. I. L. VII, 1336²⁷², 483a, b, c, 504, VIII, 22645²²², Gallic, XII, 5686⁷¹⁸, 831, XIII, 10009¹⁶⁰, 10010^{10e}, 79b, 702a¹, 921, 1094o, 1280c, g¹, 1300b¹, 1336i, 1355, 1422c, 1744c¹, 1921z², 2522, 3167t, 3310i, XV, 5309 a, Arretine.

Perhaps the same with *te* occurs on Cales ware and other archaic clay objects: C. I. L. XI, 6703^{4a}, c = X, 8054^{7a}, c, 6709³, clay pyramid.

126. C. I. L. XV, 7172-4, 7176, 7178-9, 7180, 7181, 379-381 A. D., 7182-9, 7190, 4th-beg. 5th cent., 7191, 7192, 1st inscr. ca. Constantine, 2nd, mid.-end 4th cent., 7193-8, 7199, ca. 369-379 A. D. See references there; add Nuovo Bull. Crist. vol. 8 (1902), p. 126, Rev. Arch. Fourth Series, vol. 8 (1906), p. 479, no. 148, Bulla Regia.

127. See also C. I. L. III, 30, 65 A. D., 31, 71-2 A. D., 32, 72 A. D., 33, 79 A. D., 34, 80-81 A. D., 35, 82 A. D., 42, 127 A. D., 44, 134 A. D., 46, 136 A. D., 49, 170 A. D., 50, 195 A. D.?, 51, 196 A. D., 54, 56, 57 and 58, end 1st cent., 59 and 60, end 1st cent. or Trajan, 61-64, uncertain.

128. C. I. L. III, 67, Thebes, 168 A. D., 70, 71 and 72, Thebes, 74, Philae, 2 B. C., 13582, Talmis 102-117 A. D.; Rev. Arch. Fourth Series, vol. 11 (1908), p. 323, no. 28, Esneh.

129. See also C. I. L. VI, 3008, Alex. Severus, 3010, 3041, 3056, 228 A. D., 3057, 219 A. D., 3060, 3072 (quotation), 3075, 229 A. D., 3087, Gordian; Eph. Epigr. vol. 7, p. 368, no. 1217, Alex. Severus.

